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A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE
OF THE
E U R O P E A N S
ON THE
CONTINENT OF NORTH AMERICA.

Translated from the French of the Abbé RESNAU,
By J. JUSTAMOND, M.A.

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

D U B L I N:

Printed for WILLIAM HALHEAD, No. 63, and JOHN
EXSHAW, No. 86, Dame-street.

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BOOK V.

Religion.
Government.

A
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H I S T O R Y
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B O O K I.

BOOK
I.

SPAIN was mistress of the rich empires of Mexico and Peru, the gold of the new world, and of almost all South America. The Portuguese, after a long series of victories, defeats, enterprises, mistakes, and losses, had kept the most valuable settlements in Africa, in India, and in the Brazils. The French government had not even conceived it possible to establish colonies, or imagined that any advantage could be derived from having possessions in those distant regions.

Reasons
why the
French
have found
their colonies in
America
so late.

THEIR ambitious views were turned entirely towards Italy. Some old claims on the Milanese and the two Sicilies had involved them in expensive wars, in which they had been engaged for a long time. Their internal commotions diverted them still more from the great ob-

BOOK I. **I.** jeſt of eſtabliſhing a diſtant and extenſive commerce, and from the idea of increaſing their dominions by conqueſts in the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies.

THE authority of kings was not openly conteſted, yet however it was reſiſted and eluded. Some remains of the feudal government was ſtill ſubſiſting, and many of its abuſes had not yet been aboliſhed. The prince was continually employed in reſtraining the reſtleſs ſpirit of a powerful nobility. Moſt of the provinces were governed by diſtinct laws and forms of their own. Every ſociety, every order in the ſtate enjoyed peculiar privileges, which were either oppoſed or carried to exceſs. The government was a complicated machine, which could only be regulated by the management of a variety of delicate ſprings. The court was frequently under a neceſſity of having reſource to the ſhameful reſources of intrigue and corruption, or to the odious means of oppreſſion and tyranny; and the nation was for ever negotiating with the prince. Regal authority was unlimited, without having received the ſanction of the laws; and the people, though frequently too independent, had yet no ſecurity for their liberty. This occaſioned continual jealousies, apprehenſions and ſtruggles. The whole attention of the government was not directed to the welfare of the nation, but to the means of enſlaving it. The people were ſenſible of their wants, but ignorant of their powers and reſources. They felt their rights alternately invaded and trampled upon, by their lords or their ſovereigns.

First expeditions of the French into North America.

FRANCE, therefore, ſuffered the Spaniards and Portuguese to diſcover new worlds, and to give new laws to unknown nations. They were, at length roused, by admiral Coligny, a man of the moſt extenſive, ſteady and active genius, that ever flouriſhed in that powerful empire. This great politician, attentive to the intereſts of

of his country, even amidst the horrors of a civil war, **BOOK**
sent John Ribaud to Florida in 1562. This vast track of **I.**
North America then extended from Mexico to the country which the English have since cultivated under the name of Carolina. The Spaniards had run over it in 1512, but did not settle there. The motives that engaged them to make this discovery, and those which induced them to relinquish it, are equally matters of surprize to us.

ALL the Indians of the Caribbee islands believed, upon the credit of an old tradition, that nature had concealed a spring or fountain somewhere on the continent, whose waters had the property of restoring youth to all old men who were so fortunate as to drink of them. This idea delighted the romantic imagination of the Spaniards. The loss of many, who were the victims of their credulity, did not discourage others. Rather than suspect that the first had perished in an attempt, of which death would be the most certain consequence, they concluded, that if they did not return, it was because they had found the art of enjoying perpetual youth and discovered that delightful spot, which they did not chuse to quit.

PONCE de LEON was the most famous of the navigators who were infatuated with this chimerical idea. Fully persuaded that a third world existed, the conquest of which was reserved to add to his fame; but thinking that the remainder of his life was much too short for the immense career that was opening before him, he resolved to go and renew it, and recover that youth which he was so much in need of. Accordingly he bent his course towards those climates where fable had placed the fountain of youth, and found Florida, whence he returned to Porto-Rico, visibly more advanced in years than when he set out. Thus chance immortalized the name of an

BOOK I. adventurer, who made a real discovery, merely by running after an imaginary one.

THERE is scarce any useful and important discovery made by the human mind, that has not been rather owing to a restless imagination, than to industry excited by reflection. Chance, which is the imperceptible course of nature, is never at rest, and assists all men without distinction. Genius grows weary, and is soon discouraged; it falls to the lot only of a few, and exerts itself but for a short space. Its very efforts can only throw it in the way of chance, and give occasion to make use of its assistance. The only difference between a man of genius and one of common capacity is, that the former can foresee and search for what the latter sometimes finds: But even the man of genius himself more frequently makes use of what chance has thrown in his way. It is the lapidary who puts the value on the diamond which the peasant has ignorantly dug up.

THE Spaniards had despised Florida, because they did not discover there either the fountain that was to make them all grow young, or gold which hastens the period of old age. The French found there a more real and valuable treasure; a clear sky, a fruitful soil, a temperate climate, savages who were lovers of peace and hospitality; but they themselves were not sensible of the worth of these advantages. Had they followed the directions of Coligny; had they tilled the ground, which only wanted the assistance of man to yield him its treasures; had a due subordination been maintained amongst the Europeans; had not the rights of the natives of the country been violated; a colony might have been founded, which in time would have become a flourishing and permanent settlement. But the levity of the French was inconsistent with so much wisdom. The provisions were wasted;

wasted; the fields were not sown; the authority of the chiefs was slighted by ungovernable subalterns; they were led away by a passion for hunting and war; in short, they did nothing of what they ought to have done. To complete their misfortune, the civil disturbances in France diverted the attention of the subjects from an undertaking in which the government had never taken any concern. Theological disputes alienated the minds and divided the hearts of the people. Government had violated the sacred laws of nature, which enjoin all men to tolerate the opinions of their fellow-creatures; and those of policy which forbid the exertion of tyranny more especially at an improper time. The reformed religion had made great progress in France when it was persecuted. A considerable part of the nation was involved in the proscription, and took up arms.

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I.

SPAIN, though not less intolerant, had prevented religious disturbances, by suffering the clergy to assume that authority which has been continually increasing to our times, but which, in future, will be constantly on the decline. The inquisition, always ready to oppose the least appearance of innovation, found means to prevent the protestant faith from making its way into the nation, and, therefore, was not at the pains of destroying it. Philip II. wholly taken up with America, and accustomed to consider himself as the sole proprietor of it, being informed of the attempts made by some Frenchmen to settle there, and of their being neglected by their own government, fitted out a fleet from Cadiz to destroy them. Menendez who commanded this fleet landed in Florida, where he found the enemies he went in quest of, settled at Carolina fort. He attacked all their intrenchments, carried them sword in hand, and made a dreadful massacre. All who escaped the carnage,

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I.

nage, were hanged on a tree with this inscription : *not as Frenchmen, but as heretics.*

FAR from seeking to revenge this insult, the ministry of Charles IX. secretly rejoiced at the miscarriage of a project which they had, indeed, approved, but did not countenance, because it had been contrived by the head of the Huguenots, and might reflect honour on their party. The indignation of the public did but strengthen them in their resolution of shewing no resentment. It was reserved for a private man to execute what the state ought to have done.

DOMINIC de Gourgues, born at mount Marfan in Gascony, a skilful and intrepid seaman, an enemy to the Spaniards, from whom he had received personal injuries; passionately fond of his country, of hazardous expeditions, and of glory; sold his estate, built some ships, and selecting some companions like himself, he set out to attack the murderers in Florida; he drove them from all their posts with incredible valour and activity, beat them every where, and in order to retaliate on the enemy the same contemptuous insult they had shewn, hung them up on trees with this inscription : *not as Spaniards, but as assassins.*

HAD the Spaniards been content with massacring the French, the latter would never have exerted such cruel reprisals; but they were offended at the inscription, and were guilty of an atrocious act to be revenged of the derision to which they had been exposed. This is not the only instance in history which may lead one to imagine that the bitterness of a sarcasm is not the consequence, but the cause of actions, cruel and inhuman.

THE expedition of the brave de Gourgues was attended with no further advantages. Whether he had not a stock of provisions sufficient to remain in Florida, or whether he foresaw that he had no succours to expect from

from France, or whether he thought that a friendship with the natives would last no longer than the means of purchasing it, or that the Spaniards would empower him, he blew up the forts he had taken and returned home. He was received by all true lovers of his country with the applause due to his merit, but neglected by the court, which was too despotic and superstitious not to stand in awe of virtue.

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I.

SINCE the year 1567, when this intrepid Gascon evacuated Florida, the French neglected America. Bewildered in a chaos of unintelligible doctrines, they lost their reason and their humanity. The mildest and most sociable people upon earth became the most barbarous and sanguinary. Scaffolds and piles were insufficient: as they all appeared criminal to one another, they were all mutually each other's victims and executioners. After having condemned one another to eternal destruction, they assassinated each other at the instigation of their priests, who breathed nothing but the spirit of revenge and bloodshed. At length the generous Henry softened the minds of his subjects; his compassion and tenderness made them feel their own calamities; he restored their inclination to the sweets of social life; he prevailed upon them to lay down their arms, and they consented to live happy under his parental laws.

IN this state of tranquillity and freedom, under a king who possessed the confidence of his people, they began to turn their thoughts to some useful projects. They undertook the establishment of colonies abroad. Florida was the first country that naturally occurred to them. Excepting fort St. Augustine, formerly built by the Spaniards, at the distance of ten or twelve leagues from the French colony, the Europeans had not a single settlement in all that vast and beautiful country. The inhabitants

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bitants were not a formidable set of men; and the soil had every promising appearance of fertility. It was even reported to be rich in gold and silver mines, because both those metals had been found there; not considering that they came from some ships that had been cast away upon the coasts. The remembrance of the great actions performed by some Frenchmen, could not yet be erased. Probably the French themselves were rather afraid of irritating Spain, who was not yet disposed to suffer the least settlement to be made on the Gulph of Mexico, or even near it. The danger of provoking a nation which was so formidable in those parts, determined them to keep at a distance as much as possible, and therefore they gave the preference to the more northern parts of America. The road was ready pointed out.

The
French
turn their
view to-
wards Ca-
nada.

FRANCIS I. had sent out the Florentine Verazani in 1523, who only observed the island of Newfoundland, and some coasts of the continent, but did not stop there.

ELEVEN years after, James Cartier, a skilful navigator of S. Malo, resumed the projects of Verazani. The two nations, which had first landed in America, exclaimed against the injustice of following their example. *What!* said Francis I. pleasantly, *shall the kings of Spain and Portugal quietly divide all America between them, without suffering me to take a share as their brother? I would fain see the article of Adam's will that bequeaths that vast inheritance to them.* Cartier proceeded further than his predecessor. He went up the river S. Lawrence; but after having bartered some European commodities with the savages for some of their furs, he re-embarked for France; where, an undertaking, which seemed to have been entered upon merely from imitation, was neglected from levity.

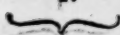
It happened fortunately that the Normans, the Britons and the Biscayans continued to carry on the cod fishery

fishery on the great sand bank, along the coasts of Newfoundland, and in all the adjacent latitudes. These intrepid and experienced men served as pilots to the adventurers who since the year 1598 attempted to settle colonies in these desert regions. None of those first settlements prospered, because they were all under the direction of exclusive companies, which had neither abilities to chuse the best situations, nor a sufficient stock to wait for their returns. One monopoly followed another in a rapid succession, but without gaining any advantage; it was pursued with greediness, without a plan, or any means to carry it into execution. All these different companies successively ruined themselves, and the state was no gainer by their loss. So many expeditions had cost France more men, more money, and more ships, than other states would have expended in the foundation of great empires. At last Samuel de Champlain went a considerable way up the river S. Lawrence, and in 1608 upon the borders of that river laid the foundation of Quebec, which became the centre and capital of New France or Canada.

THE unbounded space that opened itself to the view of this colony, discovered only dark, thick and deep forests, whose height alone was a proof of their antiquity. Numberless large rivers came down from a considerable distance to water these immense regions. The intervals between them were full of lakes. Four of these measured from two to five hundred leagues round. These inland seas communicated with each other; and their waters, after forming the great river S. Lawrence, considerably increased the bed of the ocean. Every thing in this rude part of the new world appeared grand and sublime. Nature here displayed such luxuriancy and majesty as commanded veneration; and a thousand wild
graces,

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I.



graces, far superior to the artificial beauties of our climates. Here the imagination of a painter or a poet would have been raised, animated, and filled with those ideas which leave a lasting impression on the mind. All these countries exhaled an air fit to prolong life. This temperature, which from the position of the climate must have been extremely pleasant, lost nothing of its wholesomeness by the singular severity of a long and intense winter. Those who impute this singularity merely to the woods, springs, and mountains, with which this country abounds, have not taken every thing into consideration. Others add to these causes of the cold, the elevation of the land, a pure aerial atmosphere, seldom loaded with vapours, and the direction of the winds, which blow from north to south over frozen seas.

Govern-
ment, cus-
toms, vir-
tues, vices
and wars
of the sa-
vages that
inhabited
Canada.

YET the inhabitants of this sharp and black climate were but thinly clad. A cloak of buffalo or beaver skin, bound with a leathern girdle, and stockings made of roe-buck skin, was the whole of their dress before their intercourse with us. What they have added since gives great offence to their old men, who are ever lamenting the degeneracy of their manners.

Few of these savages knew any thing of husbandry; they only cultivated maize, and that they left entirely to the management of the women, as being beneath the dignity of independent men. Their bitterest imprecation against an enemy was, that he might be reduced to till the ground. Sometimes they would condescend to go a fishing; but the employment of their life and their glory was hunting. For this purpose the whole nation went out as they did to war; every family, every hut, marched in search of sustenance. They prepared for the expedition by severe fasting, and never stirred out till they had implored the assistance of their god; they did

did not pray for strength to kill the beasts, but that they might be so fortunate as to meet with them. No persons staid at home except infirm and old men; all the rest sallied forth, the men to kill the game, and the women to dry and bring it home. They imagined that the winter was the finest season of the year: the bear, the roe-buck, the stag and the elk could not then run with any degree of swiftness, through snow that was four or five feet deep on the ground. The savages, who are able to out-run most of the swifter animals, were not to be stopped by thickets, torrents, lakes, or rivers; but when so unfortunate as not to meet with game, they lived upon acorns; and for want of these, they fed upon the sap or inner skin that grows between the wood and the bark of the aspen-tree and the birch.

IN the interval between their hunting parties, they made or mended their bows and arrows, the rackets for running upon the snow, and the canoes for crossing the lakes and rivers. These travelling implements, and a few earthen pots, were all the arts of these wandering nations. Those among them who were collected in towns, added to these the labours requisite for their sedentary way of life, for the fencing of their huts, and securing them from being attacked. The savages then gave themselves up to a total inaction, in the most profound security. This people, content with their lot, and satisfied with what nature afforded them, were unacquainted with that restlessness which arises from a sense of our own weakness, that loathing of ourselves and every thing about us, that necessity of flying from solitude, and easing ourselves of the burthen of life by throwing it upon others.

THEIR stature in general was beautifully proportioned, but they had more agility than strength, and were better

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I.

better calculated for swift running than hard labour. Their features were regular, with that fierce countenance which they contracted in war and hunting. Their complexion was copper-colour; and they had it from nature, which tans all men who are constantly exposed to the open air. This complexion was rendered still more disagreeable by the absurd custom that all savages have of painting their bodies and faces, either to distinguish each other at a distance, or to make themselves more agreeable to their mistresses, or more formidable in war. Besides this varnish, they rubbed themselves with the fat of quadrupeds, or the oil of fish, which prevented the intolerable stings of gnats and insects, that swarm in uncultivated countries. These ointments were prepared and mixed up with certain red juices, which were supposed to be a deadly poison to the moschettos. To these several methods of anointing themselves, which penetrate and discolour the skin, may be added the fumigations they made in their huts to keep off those insects, and the smoke of the fires they kept all the winter to warm themselves, and to dry their meat. This was sufficient to make them appear frightful to our people, though they undoubtedly imagined that it added to their beauty. Their sight, smell, and hearing, and all their senses were remarkably quick, and gave them early notice of their dangers and wants. These were few, but their sicknesses were still fewer. They hardly knew of any but what were occasioned by too violent exercise, or eating too much after long abstinence.

THEIR population was but moderate; and possibly this might be an advantage to them. Polished nations must wish for an increase of population, because as they are governed by ambitious rulers, the more inclined to war, from not being personally engaged in it, they are under a necessity

necessity of fighting, either to invade or repulse their neighbours ; and because they never have a sufficient extent of territory to satisfy their enterprizing and expensive way of living. But unconnected nations, who are always wandering, and guarded by the deserts which divide them, who can fly when they are attacked, and whose poverty preserves them from committing or suffering any injustice ; such savage nations had no occasion to multiply. If they are but able to resist the wild beasts, occasionally to drive away an insignificant enemy, and mutually to assist each other, nothing more is required. If they were more populous, they would the sooner have exhausted the country they inhabit, and be forced to remove in search of others, the only, or at least, the greatest misfortune attending their precarious way of life.

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I.

INDEPENDENT of these reflections, which, possibly, did not occur so strongly to the savages of Canada, the nature of things was alone sufficient to check their increase. Though they lived in a country abounding in game and fish, yet in some seasons, and sometimes for whole years, this single resource failed them : and famine then made a dreadful havock among people, who were at too great a distance to assist each other. Their wars or transient hostilities, the result of old animosities, were very destructive. Men constantly accustomed to hunt their prey, to tear in pieces the animal they had overtaken, to hear the cries of death, and see the shedding of blood, must have been still more unmerciful in war, if possible, than our own people. In a word, notwithstanding all that has been said in favour of inuring children to hardships, and which misled Peter the Great to such a degree, that he ordered that none of his sailors children should drink any thing but sea water ; an experiment which proved fatal to all who tried it ; it is certain, that

a great

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I.

a great many young savages perished through hunger, thirst, cold and fatigue. Even those whose constitution was sufficiently strong to bear the usual exercises of those climates, to swim over the broadest rivers, to go two hundred leagues on a hunting party, to live many days without sleep, to subsist a considerable time without any food; such men must have been exhausted, and totally unfit for the purposes of generation. Few lived so long as our people, who lead a more uniform and quiet life.

THE austerity of a Spartan education, the custom of inuring children to hard labour and coarse food, has been productive of dangerous mistakes. Philosophers, desirous of alleviating the miseries incident to mankind, have endeavoured to comfort the wretched who have been doomed to a life of hardships, by persuading them that it was the most wholesome and the best. The rich have eagerly adopted a system, which hardened their hearts against the sufferings of the poor, and excused them from the duties of humanity and compassion. But it is a mistake to imagine that men who are employed in the more laborious arts of society, should live as long as those who enjoy the fruit of their toil. Moderate labour strengthens the human frame: excessive labour impairs it. A peasant is an old man at sixty, whilst the inhabitants of towns, who live in affluence and with some degree of moderation, frequently attain to fourscore and upwards. Even men of letters, whose employments are by no means conducive to health, afford many instances of longevity. Let not our modern productions propagate this false and cruel error, and encourage the rich to disregard the groans of the poor, and transfer all their sensibility from their vassals to their dogs and horses.

THREE original languages were spoken in Canada, the Algonquin, the Sioux, and the Huron. They were considered

considered as primitive languages, because each of them contained many of those imitative words, which convey an idea of things by the sound. The dialects derived from them, were nearly as many as heir-towns. No abstruse terms were found in those languages, because the untutored mind of the savages seldom goes beyond the present object and the present time; and as they have but few ideas, they seldom want to represent several under one and the same sign. Besides, the language of these people, generally arising from a quick, single, and strong sensation, excited by the great scenes of nature, contracted a lively and poetical cast in their strong and active imagination. The astonishment and admiration which their very ignorance excited, gave them a strong propensity to exaggeration. Their soul expressed what their eyes saw; their language painted, as it were, natural objects in strong colouring, and their discourses were quite picturesque. For want of terms, agreed upon to denote certain compound ideas, they made use of figurative expressions. What was still wanting in speech, they supplied by their gestures, their attitudes, their bodily motions, and the modulations of the voice. The boldest metaphors were more familiar to them in common conversation, than they are even in epic poetry in the European languages. Their speeches in public assemblies, especially, were full of images, energy, and pathos. No Greek or Roman orator ever spoke, perhaps, with more strength and sublimity than one of their chiefs. Our people wanted to persuade them to remove at a distance from their native soil. *We were born, said he, on this ground, our fathers lie buried in it. Shall we say to the bones of our fathers, arise, and come with us into a foreign land?*

It may easily be imagined that these nations could not be so gentle nor so weak as those of South America.
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They shewed that they had that activity and energy which is always found in the northern nations, unless, like the Laplanders, they are of a different species from ourselves. They had but just attained to that degree of knowledge and civilization, to which intuition alone may lead men in the space of a few years; and it is among such people that a philosopher may study man in his natural state.

THEY were divided into several small nations, whose form of government was nearly similar. Some had hereditary chiefs; others elected them; the greater part were only directed by their old men. They were mere associations, formed by chance and always free, united, indeed, but bound by no tie. The will of individuals was not even overruled by the general one. All decisions were considered only as matter of advice, which was not binding, or enforced by any penalty. If, in one of these singular republics, a man was condemned to death, it was rather a kind of war against a common enemy, than an act of justice exercised against a subject. Instead of coercive power; good manners, example, education, a respect for old men, and parental affection, maintained peace in these societies, that had neither laws nor property. Reason, which had not been misled by prejudice, or corrupted by passion, as it is with us, served them instead of moral precepts and regulations of police. Harmony and security were maintained without the interposition of government. Authority never incroached upon that powerful impulse of nature, the love of independence, which enlightened by reason produces in us the love of equality.

HENCE arises that regard which the savages have for each other. They lavish their expressions of esteem, and expect the same in return. They are obliging, but reserved; they weigh their words, and listen with great
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attention. Their gravity, which looks like a kind of melancholy, is particularly observable in their national assemblies. Every one speaks in his turn, according to his age, his experience and his services. No one is ever interrupted, either by indecent reflections or ill-timed applause. Their public affairs are managed with such disinterestedness as is unknown in our governments, where the welfare of the state is hardly ever promoted but from selfish views or party spirit. It is no uncommon thing to hear one of these savage orators, when his speech has met with universal applause, telling those who agreed to his opinion, that another man is more deserving of their confidence.

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THIS mutual respect amongst the inhabitants of the same place prevails between the several nations, when they are not in actual war. The deputies are received and treated with that friendship that is due to men who come to treat of peace and alliance. Wandering nations, who have not the least notion of a domain, never negotiate for a project of conquest, or for any interests relative to dominion. Even those who have a settled home, never quarrel with others for coming to live in their district, provided they do not molest them. The earth, say they, is made for all men; no one must possess the share of two. All the politics, therefore, of the savages consist in forming leagues against an enemy who is too numerous or too strong, and in suspending hostilities that become too destructive. When they are agreed upon a truce or league of amity, it is ratified by mutually exchanging a belt or string of beads, which are a kind of snail shells. The white are very common; but the purple, which are scarcer, and the black, which are still more so, are much esteemed. They work them into a cylindrical form, bore them, and then make them

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up into branches or necklaces. The branches are about a foot long, and the beads are strung upon them in straight rows. The necklaces are broad belts, on which the beads are placed in rows, and neatly tacked down with little slips of leather. The measure, weight and colour of these shells, determine the importance of the business. They serve as jewels, as records, and as annals. They are the bond of union between nations and individuals. They are the sacred and inviolable pledge which gives a sanction to words, to promises, and to treaties. The chiefs of towns are the keepers of these records. They know their meaning; they interpret them; and by means of these signs, they transmit the history of the country to their young people.

As the savages possess no riches, they are of a benevolent turn. A striking instance of this appears in the care they take of their orphans, widows and infirm people. They liberally share their scanty provision with those whose crops have failed, or who have been unsuccessful in hunting or fishing. Their tables and their huts are open night and day to strangers and travellers. This generous hospitality, which makes the advantages of a private man a public blessing, is chiefly conspicuous in their entertainments. A savage claims respect, not so much from what he possesses as from what he gives away. Accordingly the whole provision of a six months chase is often expended in one day, and he who treats enjoys more pleasure than his guests.

NONE of the writers who have described the manners of the savages have reckoned benevolence amongst their virtues. But this may be owing to prejudice, which has made them confound antipathy and resentment with natural temper. These people neither love nor esteem the Europeans, nor are they very kind to them. The inequality

equality of conditions, which we think so necessary for the well-being of society, is in their opinion the greatest folly. They are shocked to see that amongst us, one man has more property than several others put together, and that this first injustice is productive of a second; which is, that the man who has most riches is on that account the most respected. But what appears to them a meanness below that of the brute creation is, that men who are equal by nature should stoop to depend upon the will or the caprice of another. The respect we shew to titles, dignities, and especially to hereditary nobility, they call an insult, an injury to human nature. Whoever knows how to guide a canoe, to beat an enemy, to build a hut, to live upon little, to go a hundred leagues in the woods, with no other guide than the wind and sun, or any provision but a bow and arrows; he is a man, and what more can be expected of him? That restless disposition which prompts us to cross so many seas, to seek a fortune that flies before us, appears to them rather the effect of poverty than of industry. They laugh at our arts, our manners, and all those customs which inspire us with vanity, in proportion as they remove us from the state of nature. Their frankness and honesty is roused to indignation at the tricks and cunning which have been practised in our dealings with them. A multitude of other motives, some founded on prejudice, but most on reason, have rendered the Europeans odious to the Indians. They have used reprisals, and are become harsh and cruel in their dealings with us. That aversion and contempt they have conceived for our morals, has always made them shun our society. We have never been able to reconcile any of them to the indulgences of our way of life, whereas we have seen some Europeans forego all the conveniences of civil life, go into the fo-

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rests, and take up the bow and the club of the savage. An innate spirit of benevolence, however, sometimes brings them back to us. At the beginning of the winter a French vessel was wrecked upon the rocks of Anticosti. Such of the sailors as had escaped in this desert and savage island, the rigour of the season and the dangers of famine, constructed from the remains of their ship, a bark, which, in the spring season, conveyed them to the continent. They were observed in a languid and expiring state by a canoe full of savages. *Brethren*, said the chief of this solitary family, addressing himself affectionately to them; *the wretched are entitled to our pity and our assistance. We are men, and the misfortunes incident to the human race affect us as much in others as in ourselves.* These humane expressions were accompanied with every kind of help these generous savages had it in their power to bestow.

ONE thing was wanting to complete the happiness of the free Americans; they were not passionately fond of their wives. Nature indeed has bestowed on their women a good shape, beautiful eyes, pleasing features, and long black hair. All these accomplishments are no longer regarded than whilst they are in a state of independence. They no sooner submit to the matrimonial yoke, but that even their husband, who is the only man they love, grows insensible to those charms they are so liberal of before marriage. Indeed, they are doomed to a way of life that is not favourable to beauty. Their features alter, and they lose at once the desire and the power of pleasing. They are laborious, indefatigable and active. They dig the ground, sow, and reap; whilst their husbands, who disdain to stoop to the drudgeries of husbandry, amuse themselves with hunting, fishing, shooting with a bow, and exercising the dominion of man over the earth.

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MANY of these nations allow a plurality of wives, and even those that do not practice polygamy, admit of divorce. The very idea of an indissoluble tie, never once entered the thoughts of these people who are free till death. When those who are married disagree, they part by consent, and divide their children between them. Nothing appears to them more repugnant to nature and reason than the contrary system which prevails among christians. *The great spirit, say they, hath created us all to be happy; and we should offend him, were we to live in a perpetual state of constraint and uneasiness.* This system agrees with what one of the Miamis said to one of our missionaries. *My wife and I were continually at variance. My neighbour disagreed equally with his. We have changed wives, and are all satisfied.*

It has been generally said that the savages are not much addicted to the pleasures of love. But if they are not so fond of women as civilized people are, it is not, perhaps, for want of powers or inclination to population. But the first wants of nature may, perhaps, check in them the claims of the second. Their strength is almost all exhausted in procuring their food. Hunting and other expeditions leave them neither the opportunity nor the leisure of attending to population: no wandering nation can ever be populous. What must become of women obliged to follow their husbands to the distance of a hundred leagues, with children at their breast or in their arms? What would become of the children themselves if deprived of the milk that must necessarily dry up in the course of the journey? Hunting then prevents the increase of mankind, and even destroys it. A savage warrior resists the seducing arts of young women who strive to allure him. When nature compels this tender sex to make the first advances, and to pursue the men that fly them, those who are less inflamed with

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military ardour, than with the charms of beauty, yield to the temptation. But the true warriors who have been early taught that an intercourse with women enervates strength and courage, do not give way. Canada, therefore, is not a desert from natural defects, but from the track of life which its inhabitants pursue. Though they are as fit for procreation as our northern people, all their strength is employed for their own preservation. Hunger does not allow them to attend to the softer passions. If the people of the south sacrifice every thing to this desire, it is because the first is easily satisfied. In a country where nature is very prolific, and man consumes but little, the overplus of his strength is turned wholly to population, which is likewise assisted by the warmth of the climate. In a climate where men consume more than nature affords them with ease; the time and the faculties of the human species are exhausted in fatigues that are detrimental to population.

BUT a further proof that the savages are not less inclined to women than we are, is, that they are much fonder of their children. Their mothers suckle them till they are four or five years old, and sometimes to six or seven. From their earliest infancy, their parents respect their natural independence, and never beat or chide them, because they will not check that free and martial spirit, which is one day to constitute their principal character. They even forbear to make use of strong arguments to persuade them, because this would be in some measure a restraint laid upon their free will. As they are taught nothing but what they want to know, they are the happiest children upon earth. If they die, the parents lament them with deep regret. The father and mother will sometimes go six months after, and weep over the grave of their child, and the mother will sprinkle it with her own milk.

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THE ties of friendship amongst the savages are almost as strong as those of nature, and more lasting. These are never broken by that variety of clashing interests, which, in our societies, weaken even the tenderest and most sacred connections. There the heart of one man chuses another, in which he deposits his inmost thoughts, his sentiments, his projects, his sorrows and his joys. Every thing becomes common between two friends. Their union is for life; they fight side by side; and if one falls, the other constantly dies upon his friend's body. If they are separated in some imminent danger, each calls upon the name of his friend; each invokes his spirit, this is his tutelar deity.

THE savages shew a degree of penetration and sagacity, which astonishes every one who has not observed how much our arts and methods of life contribute to render our minds slow and inactive: because we are seldom put to the trouble of thinking, and have only to learn what is already discovered. If they have brought nothing to perfection any more than the most sagacious animals, it is, probably, because these people, having no ideas but such as relate to their present wants, the equality that subsists between them, lays every individual under a necessity of thinking for himself, and of spending his whole life in acquiring this occasional learning: hence it may be reasonably inferred, that the sum total of ideas in a society of savages is no more than the sum of ideas in each individual.

INSTEAD of abstract meditations, the savages delight in songs. They are said to have no variety in their singing; but we are uncertain whether those that have heard them had an ear properly adapted to their music. When we first hear a foreign language, the words seem all to form but one word, we think it is all pronounced with

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the same tone, without any modulation or prosody. It is only by continued habit that we learn to distinguish the words and syllables, and to perceive that some are dull, and others sharp; some long and others short. The same may be equally true with regard to the melody of a people, whose song must bear some analogy to their speech.

THEIR dances are generally an image of war, and they usually dance completely armed. They are so exact, quick, and dreadful, that an European, when first he sees them, cannot help being struck with horror. He imagines that the ground will in a moment be covered with blood and scattered limbs, and that none of the dancers or the spectators will remain. It is somewhat remarkable, that in the first ages of the world, and amongst savage nations, dancing should be an imitative art, and that it should have lost that characteristic in civilized countries, where it seems to be reduced to a set of steps without meaning. But it is with dances as with languages, they grow abstracted like the ideas they are intended to represent. The signs of them are more allegorical, as the minds of the people become more refined. In the same manner as a single word, in a learned language, expresses several ideas; so, in an allegorical dance, a single step, a single attitude, is sufficient to excite a variety of sensations. It is owing to want of imagination either in the dancers, or the spectators, if a figured dance is not, or does not appear to be expressive. Besides the savages can exhibit none but strong passions and fierce manners, and these must be represented by more significant images in their dances, which are the language of gesture, the first and simplest of all languages. Nations living in a state of civil society and in peace, have only the gentler passions to represent, which are best expressed by delicate images, fit to convey refined ideas. It might not, however,

however, be improper sometimes to bring back dancing to its first origin, to exhibit the old simplicity of manners, to revive the first sensations of nature by motions which represent them, and to depart from the antiquated and scientific mode of the Greeks and Romans, and adopt the lively and significant images of the rude Canadians.

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THESE savages, always wholly taken up with the present passion, are extravagantly fond of gaming, as is usual with all idle people, and especially of games of chance. These men, who are commonly so sedate, so moderate, so disinterested, and have such a command of themselves, are outrageous, greedy and turbulent at play; they lose their peace, their senses, and all they are worth. Destitute of almost every thing, coveting all they see, and when they like it, eager to have and enjoy it, they give themselves up entirely to the quickest and easiest means of acquiring it. This is a consequence of their manners, as well as of their character. The sight of present happiness always blinds them as to the evils that may ensue. Their forecast does not even reach from day to night. They are alternately silly children and terrible men. All depends with them on the present moment.

GAMING alone would incline them to superstition, even if they had not a natural propensity to that bane of the happiness of mankind. But as they have few physicians or quacks to have recourse to, they suffer less from this malady than more polished nations, and are more open to the voice of reason. The Iroquois have a confused notion of a first Being who governs the world. They never grieve at the evil which this being permits. When some mischance befalls them, they say : *the man above would have it so*; and there is, perhaps, more philosophy in this submission than in all the reasonings and declamations of our philosophers. Most other savage nations worship

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worship those two first principles, which occur to the human mind as soon as it has acquired any conception of invisible substances. Sometimes they worship a river, a forest, the sun or the moon; in short, any beings in which they have observed a certain power and motion; because wherever they see motion which they cannot account for, there they suppose a soul.

THEY seem to have some notion of a future state; but as they have no principles of morality, they do not think that the next life is a state of reward for virtue and punishment for vice. Their opinion of it consists in believing that the indefatigable huntsman, and the fearless and merciless warrior, the man who has slain or burnt many enemies, and made his own town victorious, will after death go into a country, where he will find plenty of all kinds of animals to assuage his hunger; whereas those who are grown old in indolence and without glory, will be for ever banished into a barren land, where they will be eternally tormented with famine and sickness. Their tenets are suited to their manners and their wants. They believe in such pleasures and such sufferings as they are acquainted with. They have more hopes than fears, and are happy, even in their delusions. Yet they are often tormented with dreams.

IGNORANCE is prone to look for something mysterious in dreams, and to ascribe them to the agency of some powerful being, who takes the opportunity when our faculties are suspended and lulled asleep, of watching over us in the absence of our senses. It is as if we were a soul, distinct from our own, that glides into us, to inform us of what is to come, when we cannot yet see it; whereas futurity is always present to that Being who created it.

IN the bleak climates of Canada, where the people live by hunting, their nerves are apt to be overstrained by the inclemency of the weather, and by fatigue and long abstinence. When these savages have melancholy and troublesome dreams, they fancy they are surrounded with enemies; they see their town surprised, and swimming in blood; they receive injuries and wounds; their wives, their children, their friends are carried off. When they awake, they take these visions for a warning from the gods, and that fear which first inspired them with this notion, makes them look more fierce and gloomy. The old women, who are useless in the world, dream for the safety of the common wealth. Some weak old men too, dream on public affairs, in which they have no share or influence. Young men who are unfit for war, or laborious exercises, will dream too, that they may bear some part in the administration of the clan. In vain hath it been attempted during two centuries to dispel illusions so deeply rooted. *You christians, have always answered the savages, you laugh at the faith we have in dreams, and yet require us to believe things infinitely more improbable.* Thus we see in these untutored nations the seeds of priestcraft with all its train of evils.

WERE it not for these melancholy fits and dreams, there would scarce ever be any contentions amongst them. Europeans who have lived long in those countries assure us, they never saw an Indian in a passion. Without superstition, there would be as few national as private quarrels.

PRIVATE differences are most commonly adjusted by the bulk of the people. The respect shewn by the nation to the aggrieved party, soothes his self-love, and disposes him to peace. It is more difficult to prevent quarrels, or put an end to hostilities, between two nations.

WAR

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WAR often takes its rise from hunting. When two companies, which were separated by a forest a hundred leagues in extent, happen to meet, and to interfere with each other's sport, they soon quarrel, and turn those weapons against one another, which were intended for the destruction of bears. This slight skirmish is a seed of eternal discord. The vanquished party swears implacable vengeance against the conquerors, a national hatred which will live in their posterity, and revive out of their ashes. These quarrels, however, are sometimes stifled in the wounds of both parties, when on each side there happen to be only some fiery youths, who are desirous of trying their skill, and whose impatience has hurried them too far. But the rage of whole nations is not easily kindled.

WHEN there is a cause for war, it is not left to the judgment and decision of one man. The nation meets, and the chief speaks. He states the grievances. The matter is considered, the dangers and the consequences of a rupture are carefully balanced. The speakers enter directly on the subject, without stopping, without digression, or mistaking the case. The several interests are discussed with a strength of reasoning and eloquence that arises from the evidence and simplicity of the objects; and even with an impartiality that is less biassed by their strong passions, than it is with us by a complication of ideas. If they unanimously decide for war by an universal shout, the allies are invited to join them, which they seldom refuse, as they always have some injury to revenge, or some dead to replace by prisoners.

THEY next proceed to the election of a chief, or captain of the expedition; and great stress is laid upon physiognomy. This might be a very fallacious and even ridiculous way of judging of men, where they have been trained

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ed up from their infancy to disguise their real sentiments, and where, by a constant practice of dissimulation and factitious passions, the countenance is no longer expressive of the mind. But a savage, who is solely guided by nature, and is acquainted with its workings, is seldom mistaken in the judgment he forms at first sight. The chief requisite, next to a warlike aspect, is a strong voice; because in armies that march without drums or clarions, the better to surprise the enemy, nothing is so proper to sound an alarm, or to give the signal for the onset, as the terrible voice of a chief who shouts and strikes at the same time. But the best recommendations for a general, are his exploits. Every one is at liberty to boast of his victories, in order to march foremost to meet danger; to tell what he has done, in order to shew what he will do; and the savages think self-commendation not unbecoming a hero who can shew his scars.

HE that is to head the rest in the road to victory, never fails to harangue them. "Comrades, says he, the bones of our brethren are still uncovered. They cry out against us; we must satisfy them. Young men, to arms; fill your quivers; paint yourselves with gloomy colours that may strike terror. Let the woods ring with our warlike songs. Let us sooth the dead with the shouts of vengeance. Let us go and bathe in the blood of our enemies, take prisoners, and fight as long as water shall flow in the rivers, and as long as the sun and moon shall remain fixed in the firmament."

AT these words, the brave men who long to encounter the hazards of war, go to the chief and say, *I will risque with thee. So you shall*, replies the chief, *we will risque together*. But as no one has been solicited, lest a false point of honour should induce cowards to march, a man must undergo many trials before he can be admitted as a soldier.

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soldier. If a young man, who has never yet faced the enemy should betray the least impatience, when, after long abstinence, he is exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, the intense frosts of the night, or the bloody stings of insects, he would be declared incapable and unworthy to bear arms. Are our militias and armies formed in this manner? On the contrary, what a mournful and ominous ceremony is ours! Men who have not been able to save themselves by flight, from being pressed into the service, or could not procure an exemption by purchase, or by claiming some privilege, drag themselves heavily along, with downcast looks, and pale dejected faces, before a delegate, whose functions are odious to the people, and whose honesty is doubtful. The afflicted and trembling parents seem to be following their son to the grave. A black scroll, issuing from a fatal urn, points out the victims which the prince devotes to war. A distracted mother in vain presses her son to her bosom, and strives to detain him; he is torn from her arms, and she bids him farewell for ever, cursing the day of her marriage and that of her delivery. It is not surely thus that good soldiers are to be formed. It is not in this mournful way, and with such consternation that the savages meet victory. They march out in midst of festivity, singing and dancing. The young married women, follow their husbands for a day or two, but without shewing any signs of grief or sorrow. These women, who never once cry out in the pangs of child-birth, would scorn to soften the minds of the defenders and avengers of their country, by their tears, or even by their endearments.

THEIR weapons are a kind of spear armed with sharp bones, and a small club of very hard wood, with one cutting edge. Instead of this last, since their acquaintance with the Europeans, they make use of a hatchet, which

which they handle with amazing dexterity. Most of ^{BOOK} them have no instrument of defence, but if they chance to attack the pales that surround a town, they cover their body with a thin plank. Some used to wear a kind of cuirass made with plaited reeds, but they left it off, when they saw it was not proof against fire arms.

THE army is followed by dreamers, who assume the name of jugglers, and are too often suffered to determine the military operations. They march without any colours. All the warriors, who fight almost naked to be the more alert, daub their bodies with coals, to appear more terrible, or else with mould, to conceal themselves at a distance, and the better to surprize the enemy. Notwithstanding their natural intrepidity, and aversion for all disguise, their wars degenerate into artifice. These deceitful arts common to all nations, whether savage or civilized, are become necessary to the petty nations of Canada. They would have totally destroyed one another, had they not made the glory of their chiefs to consist in bringing home all their companions, rather than in shedding the blood of their foes. Honour, therefore, is to be gained by falling upon the enemy before he is aware. These people, whose senses have never been impaired, are extremely quick scented, and can discover the places where men have trod. By the keenness of their sight or smell, it is said they can trace footsteps upon the shortest grass, upon the dry ground, and even upon stone; and from the nature of the footsteps, can find out what nation they belong to. Perhaps, they may discover this by the leaves with which the forests always strew the ground.

WHEN they are so fortunate as to surprize the enemy, they discharge a whole volley of arrows, and fall upon him with their clubs or hatchets in their hands. If he is upon his guard, or too well intrenched, they retreat if they

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they can; if not, they must fight till they conquer or die. The victorious party dispatch the wounded men whom they could not carry away, scalp the dead, and take some prisoners.

THE conqueror leaves his hatchet upon the field of battle, having previously engraved upon it the mark of his nation, that of his family; and especially his own picture; that is to say, an oval with the figures marked on his own face. Others paint all these ensigns of honour, or rather trophies of victory, on the stump of a tree, or on a piece of the bark, with coal mixed up with several colours. To this they add the history, not only of the battle, but of the whole campaign in hieroglyphic characters. Immediately after the general's picture, are those of his soldiers, marked by so many lines; the number of prisoners pointed out by so many little images, and that of the dead by so many human figures without heads. Such are the expressive and technical signs which, in all original societies, have preceded the art of writing and printing, and the voluminous libraries which fill the palaces of the rich and idle, and incumber the heads of the learned.

THE history of an Indian war is but a short one; they make haste to set it down, for fear the enemy should turn back and fall upon them. The conqueror glories in a precipitate retreat, and never stops till he reaches his own territory and his own town. There he is received with the warmest transports of joy, and finds his reward in the applauses of his countrymen. They then consider how they shall dispose of the prisoners, who are the only fruit of their victory.

THE most fortunate of the captives are those who are chosen to replace the warriors who fell in the late action, or in former battles. This adoption has been wisely contrived,

trived, to perpetuate nations which would soon be destroyed by frequent wars. The prisoners being once incorporated into a family, become cousins, uncles, fathers, brothers, husbands; in short, they succeed to any degree of consanguinity, in which the deceased stood, whose place they supply, and these affectionate titles convey all their rights to them, at the same time that they bind them to all their engagements. Far from declining the attachments which are due to the family that has adopted them, they will not refuse even to take up arms against their own countrymen. Yet this is surely a strange inversion of the ties of nature. They must be very weak-minded men, thus to shift the object of their regard with the vicissitudes of fortune. The truth is that war seems to cancel all the bonds of nature, and to confine a man's feelings to himself alone. Hence arises that union between friends observable among the savages, stronger than those that subsist between relations. Those who are to fight and die together, are more firmly attached than those who are born together, or under the same roof. When war or death has dissolved that kindred which is cemented by nature, or has been formed by choice, the same fate which loads the savage with chains, gives him new relations and friends. Custom and common consent have introduced this singular law, which undoubtedly sprang from necessity.

BUT it sometimes happens that a prisoner refuses this adoption; sometimes that he is excluded from it. A tall handsome prisoner had lost several of his fingers in battle. This circumstance was not noticed at first. *Friend*, said the widow to whom he was allotted, *we had chosen thee to live with us; but in the condition I see thee, unable to fight and defend us, of what use is life to thee? Death is certainly preferable. I believe it is*, answered the savage. *Well*

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B O O K *then, replied the woman, this evening thou shalt be tied to the stake. For thy own glory, and for the honour of our family who have adopted thee, remember to behave as a man of courage.* He promised he would, and kept his word. For three days he endured the most cruel torments with a constancy and chearfulness, that set them all at defiance. His new family never forsook him, but encouraged him by their applause, and supplied him with drink and tobacco in the midst of his sufferings. What a mixture of virtue and ferocity : every thing is great in these people who are not enslaved. This is the sublime of nature in all its horrors and its beauties.

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THE captives whom none choose to adopt, are soon condemned to death. The victims are prepared for it by every thing that may tend to inspire them with a regret for life. The best fare, the kindest usage, the most endearing names are lavished upon them. They are even sometimes indulged with women to the very moment of their sentence. Is this compassion, or is it a refinement of barbarity ? At last a herald comes, and acquaints the wretch that the pile is ready. *Brother,* says he, *be patient, thou art going to be burnt. Very well brother,* says the prisoner, *I thank thee.*

THESE words are received with general applause ; but the women are the most eager in the common joy. She to whom the prisoner is delivered up, instantly invokes the shade of a father, a husband, a son, the dearest friend whose death is still unrevengeed. *Draw near,* she cries, *I am preparing a feast for thee. Come and drink large draughts of the broth I intend to give thee. This warrior is going to be put into the cauldron. They will apply hot hatchets to every part of his body : They will pull off his hair : They will drink out of his skull : Thou shalt be avenged and satisfied.*

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THIS furious woman then rushes upon her victim who is tied to a stake near the fiery pile, and by striking or maiming him, she gives the signal for the intended cruelties. There is not a woman, or a child in the clan whom this sight has brought together, who does not take a part in the torturing and slaying of the miserable captive. Some burn his flesh with firebrands; others cut it in slices; some tear off his nails; whilst others cut off his fingers, roast them, and devour them before his face. Nothing stops his executioners but the fear of hastening his end: they study to prolong his sufferings for whole days, and sometimes they make him linger for a whole week.

IN the midst of these torments, the hero with great composure sings his death song; insults his enemies, upbraids them for their weakness, tells them they know not how to revenge the death of their relations whom he has slain, and excites them by outrages or intreaties to a further exertion of their cruelties. It is a conflict between the victim and his tormentors, a dreadful challenge between constancy in suffering, and obstinacy in torturing. But the sense of glory predominates. Whether this intoxication of enthusiasm suspends or wholly benumbs all sense of pain; or whether custom and education alone produce these prodigies of heroism, certain it is, that the patient dies without ever shedding a tear or heaving a sigh.

How shall we account for this insensibility? Is it owing to the climate, or to their manner of life? No doubt colder blood, thicker humors, a constitution rendered more phlegmatic by the dampness of the air and the ground, may blunt the irritability of the nervous system in Canada. Men who are constantly exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, the fatigues of hunting and the perils of war, contract such a rigidity of the fi-

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bres, such a habit of suffering, as makes them insensible to pain. It is said the savages are scarce ever convulsed in the agonies of death, whether they die of sickness or of a wound. As they have no apprehensions, either of the approach or the consequence of death, their imagination does not suggest that artificial sensibility which mere nature will inspire. Their whole life both natural and moral, is calculated to inspire them with a contempt for death, which we so much dread, and to enable them to overcome the sense of pain, which is irritated by our indulgencies.

BUT what is still more astonishing in the Indians than their intrepidity in torments, is the ferociousness of their revenge. It is dreadful to think that man may become the most cruel of all animals. In general, revenge is not atrocious either among nations, or between individuals who are governed by good laws; because those very laws which protect the subjects, keep them from offending. Vengeance is not a very quick sentiment in the wars of great nations, because they have but little to fear from their enemies. But in those petty nations, where every individual constitutes a great part of the state himself, where the carrying off of one man endangers the whole community, war can be nothing else than the spirit of revenge that actuates the whole state: amongst independent men, who have that self esteem which can never be felt by men who are under subjection; amongst savages whose affections are very lively and confined, injuries must necessarily be resented to the greatest degree, because they affect the person in the most sensible manner: the assassination of a friend, of a son, of a brother, or of a fellow-citizen, cannot but be avenged to the last drop of the murderer's blood. These ever beloved shades are continually calling out for vengeance from their graves. They wander about in the forests, amidst the mournful accents

accents of the birds of night; they appear in the phos-
phorus and in the lightning; and superstition speaks for
them in the afflicted or incensed hearts of their friends.

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WHEN we consider the hatred which the different tribes of these savages bear to each other; the hardships they undergo; the scarcity they are often exposed to; the frequency of their wars; the scantiness of their population; the numberless snares we lay for them; we cannot but foresee that in less than three centuries, the whole race will be extinct. What will posterity then think of this species of men, who will exist no more but in the accounts of travellers? Will not the times of savages appear to them in the same light as the fabulous times of antiquity do to us? They will speak of them, as we do of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. How many contradictions shall we not discover in their customs and manners? Will not such of our writings as may then have escaped the destructive hand of time, pass for romantic inventions, like those which Plato has left us concerning the ancient Atlantis.

THE character of the North Americans such as we have described it, had singularly displayed itself in the war between the Iroquois and the Algonquins. These two nations, the largest in Canada, had formed a kind of confederacy. The former, who tilled the ground, imparted their productions to their allies, who in return shared with them the produce of their chase. Connected as they both were by their reciprocal wants, they mutually defended each other. During the season when the snow interrupted all the labours of the field, they lived together. The Algonquins went out a hunting, and the Iroquois staid at home to skin the beasts, cure the flesh and dress the hides.

The French embroil themselves improperly in the wars of the savages.

It happened one year that a party of Algonquins, who were not very skilful or well versed in the chase, proved

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unsuccessful. The Iroquois who attended them, desired leave to try whether they should be more fortunate. This complaisance, which had sometimes been shewn them, was denied. Irritated at this unreasonable refusal, they stole away in the night, and brought home a plentiful capture. The Algonquins were greatly mortified, and to blot out the very remembrance of their disgrace, they waited till the Iroquois huntsmen were asleep, and slew them all. This massacre occasioned a great alarm. The offended nation demanded justice, which was haughtily refused, and they were given to understand that they must not even expect the smallest satisfaction.

THE Iroquois, enraged at this contemptuous treatment, swore to be revenged or perish in the attempt. But not being powerful enough to venture an attack upon the proud offenders, they removed to a greater distance in order to try their strength, and improve themselves in the art of war against some less formidable nation. As soon as they had learnt to come on like foxes, to attack like lions, and to fly like birds, as they express themselves, they were no longer afraid to encounter the Algonquins; and, therefore, carried on a war against them with a degree of ferociousness proportionable to their resentment.

It was just at the time when these animosities were kindled throughout Canada, that the French made their first appearance there. The Montagnez, who inhabited the lower parts of the river S. Lawrence; the Algonquins, who lived along the banks of that river, from Quebec to Montreal; the Hurons, who were dispersed about the lake that bears that name; and some less considerable nations who wandered about in the intermediate spaces, were all of them inclined to favour the settlement of the strangers. These several nations, combined against the Iroquois, and unable to withstand them,
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imagined that they might find in their new guests an unexpected resource, from which they promised themselves infallible success. Judging of the French as if they had known them, they flattered themselves they might engage them in their quarrel, and were not disappointed. Champlain, who ought to have availed himself of the superiority of knowledge the Europeans had over the Americans, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation, did not even attempt it. He warmly espoused the interests of his neighbours, and accompanied them in quest of their enemy.

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THE country of the Iroquois extended near eighty leagues in length, and somewhat more than forty in breadth. Its boundaries were the lake Erie, the lake Ontario, the river St. Lawrence, and the famous countries since known by the names of New-York and Pennsylvania. The space between these vast limits was watered by several fine rivers. It was inhabited by five nations, which could bring about twenty thousand warriors into the field; though they are now reduced to less than fifteen hundred. They formed a kind of league or association, not unlike that of the Switzers or the Dutch. Their deputies met once a year, to hold their feast of union, and to deliberate on the interests of the commonwealth.

THOUGH the Iroquois did not expect to be again attacked by enemies who had so often been conquered, yet they were not unprepared. The engagement was begun with equal confidence on both sides; one part relying on their usual superiority, the other on the assistance of their new ally, whose fire-arms could not fail of insuring the victory. And, indeed, no sooner had Champlain and the two Frenchmen who attended him fired a shot, which killed two chiefs of the Iroquois, and mortally

BOOK wounded a third, than the whole army fled in the utmost amazement and consternation.
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AN alteration in the mode of attack induced them to think of changing their mode of defence. In the next campaign, they imagined it would be necessary to intrench themselves against weapons they were unacquainted with. But their precaution was ineffectual. Notwithstanding an obstinate resistance, their intrenchments were forced by the Indians, supported by a brisker fire, and a greater number of Frenchmen than in the first expedition. The Iroquois were almost all killed or taken. Those who had escaped the action were precipitated into a river and drowned.

It is most probable that this nation would have been destroyed, or compelled to live in peace, had not the Dutch, who in 1610 had founded the colony of new Belgia in their neighbourhood, furnished them with arms and ammunition. Possibly too they might secretly excite their divisions, because the furs taken from the enemy during the continuance of hostilities, were a greater object than those they could procure from their own chase. However this may be, this additional weight restored the balance of strength between both parties. Various hostilities and injuries were committed by each nation, and they were both in consequence of them considerably weakened. This perpetual ebb and flow of success or misfortunes, which, in governments actuated by motives of interest rather than of revenge, would infallibly have restored tranquillity, served but to encrease their animosities, and to exasperate a number of little clans, resolved upon destroying one another. The consequence was, that the weakest of these petty nations were soon destroyed, and the rest were gradually reduced to nothing.

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NOTWITHSTANDING these various checks, the power of the French was not increased. In 1626, they had yet but three wretched settlements, surrounded with pales. The largest of these colonies contained but fifty inhabitants, including men, women and children. The climate had not proved destructive to the men that had been sent there. It was severe but wholesome, and the Europeans strengthened their constitutions there without endangering their lives. The little progress they made was entirely owing to the system of an exclusive company, whose chief designs were not so much intended to create a national power in Canada, as to enrich itself in the fur trade. The evil might have been immediately removed, by abolishing this monopoly, and allowing a free trade in lieu of it; but it was not yet the time to adopt so simple a theory. The government, however, chose only to employ a more numerous association, which was composed of men of greater property and credit.

The French colony makes no progress. Cause of this languor.

THEY gave them the disposal of the settlements that were or should be formed in Canada, together with a power of fortifying and governing them as they thought proper, and of making war or peace, as should best promote their interest. The whole trade by sea and land was allowed them for a term of fifteen years, except the cod and whale fisheries, which were left open to all. The beaver and all the fur trade was granted to the company for ever.

To all these encouragements were added further favours. The king made a present of two large ships to the company, which consisted of seven hundred men, Twelve of the principal were raised to the rank of nobility. Gentlemen, and even the clergy, already too rich, were invited to share in this trade. The company were allowed the liberty of sending and exporting all kinds

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kinds of commodities and merchandise, free of any duty whatsoever. The person who exercised any trade in the colony for the space of six years, was entitled to the freedom of the same trade in France. The last favour granted them was the free entry of all goods that should be manufactured in those distant regions. This unaccountable privilege gave the workmen of New France an infinite advantage over those of the old country, who were encumbered with a variety of duties, letters of mastership, charges for stamps, and with all the impediments which ignorance and avarice had multiplied without end.

IN return for so many marks of partiality, the company, which had a capital of a hundred thousand crowns, (13,125*l.*) engaged to bring into the colony in the year 1628, which was the first year of their privilege, two or three hundred artificers of such trades as were fittest for their purpose, and sixteen thousand men before the year 1643. They were to find them in lodging and board, to maintain them for three years, and afterwards to give them as much cleared land as would be necessary for their subsistence, with a sufficient quantity of grain to sow in the first year.

FORTUNE did not second the endeavours of government in favour of the new company. The first ships they fitted out were taken by the English, who were lately embroiled with France, on account of the siege of Rochelle. Richelieu and Buckingham, who were enemies from jealousy, from personal character, from state interest, and from every motive that can breed an irreconcilable enmity between two ambitious ministers, took this opportunity to spirit up the two kings whom they governed, and the two nations they wanted to oppress. The English, who fought for their interests, gained the advantage over the French: and the latter lost Canada
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in 1629. The council of Lewis XIII. were so little acquainted with the value of this settlement, that they were inclined not to demand the restitution of it; but the pride of the leading man, who considered the encroachments of the English as a personal insult, as he was then at the head of the company, made them alter their opinion. They met with less difficulty than they expected, and Canada was restored to the French in 1632 by the treaty of S. Germain en Laye.

THE French were not improved by adversity. The same ignorance, the same negligence prevailed after the recovery of Canada as before. The monopolizing company fulfilled none of their engagements. This breach of promise, far from being punished, was rather, as it were, rewarded by a prolongation of their charter. The clamours, indeed, of all Canada were disregarded, and the deputies sent to represent its wretched situation, were denied access to the throne, where timid truth is never suffered to approach, but is awed into silence by threats and punishments. This behaviour, equally repugnant to humanity, private interest and good policy, was attended with such consequences as must naturally be expected from it. Traffic grew languid, as the communication was too dangerous. The Indians, weakly supported by their allies the French, were continually flying before the old enemy, whom they were accustomed to dread. The Iroquois, resuming their superiority, loudly boasted that they should compel the strangers to quit their country, after they had carried off their children to replace such as they had lost of their own. The French themselves, forgotten by their mother country, and unable to gather in their scanty crops without hazard of their lives, were determined to forsake a settlement that was so ill supported. Such was the deplorable state of the colony, that it

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The French are roused from their inactivity. Means by which this change was effected.

was reduced to subsist upon the charities which the missionaries received from Europe.

At last the ministry, awakened from their lethargy by a general ferment that seemed at that time to be putting all nations into motion, sent a body of four hundred good troops to Canada in 1662. This corps was reinforced two years after by the regiment of Carignan. The French gradually recovered a determined superiority over the Iroquois. Three of their nations, alarmed at their losses, made proposals for an accommodation; and the other two were so enfeebled, that they were induced to agree to it in 1668. The colony then first enjoyed profound peace. This laid the foundation of prosperity, and a free trade brought it forward. The beaver trade alone was still monopolized.

THIS revolution proved a spur to industry. The old settlers, whose weakness had till then confined them within the precincts of their pales, now ventured to extend their plantations, and cultivated them with better success. All the soldiers, who consented to settle there, obtained their discharge, together with some property. The officers had lands granted them in proportion to their rank. The old settlements were improved, and new ones formed, wherever the interest or safety of the colony required. This spirit and activity brought on a brisk traffic with the Indians, and revived the intercourse between both continents. It appeared as if this prosperity would increase still more, by the care the administrators of the colony had taken, not only to keep in amity with the neighbouring nations, but likewise to establish peace and harmony amongst themselves. Not a single act of hostility was committed in an extent of four or five hundred leagues; a thing perhaps unheard of before in North America. One would have thought the French had kindled the war

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at their first coming, only to extinguish it the more effectually.

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BUT this concord could not last for ever amongst a people who were always armed for the chase, unless the power that had brought it about should employ a great superiority of forces to maintain it. The Iroquois, when they saw that this attention was neglected, resumed that restless disposition which arose from their love of revenge and dominion. They were, however, careful to keep on good terms with all who were either allies or neighbours to the French. Notwithstanding this precaution, they were told that they must immediately lay down their arms, and restore all the prisoners they had taken, or expect to see their country destroyed, and their habitations burnt down. This haughty summons shocked their pride. They answered that they would never suffer the least encroachment on their independence, and that they were friends who were not to be neglected, and enemies who were not to be despised. Staggered, however, with this resolute message, they partly complied with what was required, and the rest was passed over unnoticed.

BUT this kind of humiliation rather increased the resentment of a people more accustomed to commit than to suffer injuries. The English, who in 1664 had dispossessed the Dutch of New Belgia, and had remained masters of their conquest, which they had called New York, took advantage of the dispositions in which they found the Iroquois. They not only excited the spirit of discord by suggestions, but even added presents to induce them to break with the French. The same artifices were used with the rest of their allies. Those who adhered to their allegiance were attacked. All were invited, and some compelled to bring

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bring their beaver and other furs to New York, where they sold much better than in the French colony.

DENONVILLE, who had lately been sent to Canada to enforce obedience to the authority of the proudest of monarchs, was impatient of all these insults. Though he was in a condition not only to cover his own frontiers, but even to encroach upon those of the Iroquois, yet as he was sensible that this nation must not be attacked without being destroyed, it was agreed that our people should keep in a state of seeming inaction, till they had received from Europe the necessary power for executing so desperate a resolution. These succours arrived in 1687, and the colony had then 11,249 persons, of whom about one third were able to bear arms.

WITH this superiority of forces, Denonville was mean enough to have recourse to stratagem; and dishonoured the French name among the savages by an infamous perfidy. Under pretence of terminating their differences by negotiation, he basely abused the confidence which the Iroquois reposed in the Jesuit Lamber ville, to allure their chiefs to a conference. As soon as they arrived, they were put in irons, embarked at Quebec, and sent to the galleys.

ON the first report of this treachery, the old men sent for their missionary, and addressed him thus. "We are
"authorized to treat you as an enemy, but we cannot
"resolve to do it. Your heart has had no share in the
"insult that has been put upon us, and it would be un-
"just to punish you for a crime you detest still more
"than ourselves. But you must leave us. Our rash
"young men would look upon you in the light of a
"traitor, who has delivered up the chiefs of our nation
"to shameful slavery." After this speech, these savages,
whom the Europeans have always called barbarians,

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gave the missionary a guard, who never left him till they had brought him to a place of safety; and then both parties took up arms.

THE French presently spread terror amongst the Indians bordering upon the great lakes; but Denonville had neither the activity nor dispatch necessary to improve these first successes. Whilst he was wasting his time in deliberating, the campaign was closed without the acquisition of any permanent advantage. This increased the boldness of the Iroquois who lived near the French settlements, where they repeatedly committed horrible ravages. The planters, finding their labours ruined by these devastations, which even cut off the means of repairing the damage, ardently wished for a peace. Denonville's temper coincided with their wishes; but it was no easy matter to pacify an enemy whom ill usage had made implacable. Lamberville, who still maintained his former ascendent over them, made overtures of peace, which were attended to.

WHILST these negotiations were carrying on, a Machiavel born in the forests, known by the name of Le Rat, the bravest, the most resolute, the most intelligent savage ever found in the wilds of North America, arrived at Fort Frontenac with a chosen band of Hurons, fully determined upon exploits worthy of the reputation he had acquired. He was told that a treaty was actually on foot, that the deputies of the Iroquois were upon the road to conclude it at Montreal, and that it would disoblige the French governor if they should carry on their hostilities against a nation with which they were negotiating a peace.

LE RAT, piqued that the French should thus enter into negotiations without consulting their allies, resolved to punish them for their presumption. He lay in wait for the deputies; some of which were killed, and the rest

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taken prisoners. When they told them the purport of their voyage, he feigned great surprize, and the more so, as Denonville, he said, had sent him to intercept them. In order to carry on the deceit more successfully, he immediately released them all except one, whom he kept, as he declared, to replace one of his Hurons, who had been killed in the fray. He then hastened to Michillimakinac, where he presented his prisoner to the French commander, who, not knowing that Denonville was treating with the Iroquois, caused the unhappy savage to be put to death. As soon as he was dead, Le Rat sent for an old Iroquois, who had long been a prisoner among the Hurons, and released him that he might go and acquaint his nation, that whilst the French were amusing their enemies with negotiations, they continued to take prisoners and murder them. This artifice, worthy of the most consummately wicked policy, succeeded to his utmost wish. The war was renewed with greater fury than ever, and lasted the longer, as the English, who were lately embroiled with France, on account of the dethroning of James II. thought it their interest to make an alliance with the Iroquois.

AN English fleet, which sailed from Europe in 1690, appeared before Quebec in October, to lay siege to the place. They had reason to expect but a faint resistance, as the savages were to make a powerful diversion, which would employ the principal land forces of the colony. But they were compelled shamefully to relinquish the enterprize, after having sustained great losses. The causes of this disappointment merit some discussion.

WHEN the ministry of London projected the reduction of Canada, they determined that the land and sea forces should keep peace with each other, so as to arrive there at the same time. This wise plan was executed with

with the greatest precision. As the ships were sailing up the river S. Lawrence, the troops were marching over land, in order to reach the field of action at the same instant with the fleet. They were close to the spot, when the Iroquois who guided and supported them, recollected the dangers they exposed themselves to, in leading their allies to the conquest of Quebec. Situated as we are, said they, in a council they held, between two European nations, each powerful enough to destroy us, both interested in our destruction, when they shall no longer stand in need of our assistance, what other measure can we take, but to prevent either from being subdued by the other? Then will each of them be compelled to court our alliance, or to bribe us to a neutrality. This system, which one might imagine to be dictated by the same kind of sound policy as that which holds the balance of Europe, determined the Iroquois to return to their respective homes under various pretences. Their defection obliged the English to retreat; and the French, now in security on their lands, united all their forces with as much harmony as success for the defence of their capital.

THE Iroquois, from motives of policy, stifled their resentment against the French, and adhered rather to the name than to the interest of the English. These two European powers, therefore, irreconcilable rivals to each other, but separated by the territory of a savage nation, equally apprehensive of the superiority of either, were prevented from doing each other so much injury as they could have wished. The war therefore consisted merely in a few depredations, fatal to the colonists, but of little consequence to the several nations concerned in them. In the midst of the cruelties exercised by the several small and combined parties of English and Iroquois, of French and Hurons, whose ravages

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were extended one hundred leagues from home; some actions were performed, which seemed to exalt human nature far above all these barbarities.

SOME French and Indians having joined in an expedition that required a long march, their provisions began to fail. The Hurons caught plenty of game, and always offered some to the French, who were not such skilful huntsmen. The French were desirous of declining the acceptance of this generous offer. *You share with us the fatigues of war,* said the savages, *it is but reasonable that we should share with you the necessities of life; we should not be men if we acted otherwise with men.* If Europeans have sometimes been capable of similar magnanimity, the following is an instance peculiar to savages.

A PARTY of Iroquois being informed that a party of the French and their allies were advancing with superior forces, they fled with precipitation. They were headed by an Onontague, who was a hundred years old. He scorned to fly with the rest, and chose rather to fall into the hands of the savage enemies, though he had nothing to expect but exquisite torments. What a sight was this, to see four hundred barbarians eager in tormenting a poor old man, who, far from heaving a sigh, treated the French with the utmost contempt, and upbraided the Hurons with having stooped to be the slaves of those vile Europeans! One of his tormentors, provoked at his invectives, stabbed him in three places, to put an end to his repeated insults. *Thou shouldst not,* said the Onontague calmly to him, *shorten my life, thou wouldst have had more time to learn to die like a man.* And are these the men whom the French and English have been conspiring to extirpate for a century past? They would, probably, blush, to live among such models of heroism and magnanimity.

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THE peace of Ryswick immediately put an end to the calamities of Europe and the hostilities in America. In imitation of the French and English, the Iroquois and Hurons were sensible how much they stood in need of a lasting tranquillity to repair the losses they had sustained in war. The Indians began to recover themselves; the Europeans resumed their labours; and the fur trade, the first that could be entered into with a nation of hunters, was established upon a better footing.

BEFORE the discovery of Canada, the forests with which it was over-run were little more than the extensive haunt of wild beasts. They had multiplied prodigiously, because the few men who lived in those deserts without flocks or tame animals, left more room and more food for the animal race, wandering and free like themselves. If the nature of the climate did not afford an infinite variety, each species produced, at least, a multitude of individuals. But they at last paid tribute to the sovereignty of man, that cruel title, so fatal to every living creature. Having neither arts nor husbandry to employ them, the savages fed and clothed themselves wholly at the expence of the wild beasts. As soon as our luxury had made us adopt the use of their skins, the natives waged a perpetual war against them, which was the more active as it procured them plenty, and a variety of gratifications, which their senses were unaccustomed to, and the more fatal, as they had adopted the use of our fire-arms. This destructive industry brought over from the woods of Canada into the ports of France a great quantity and prodigious variety of furs, some of which were made use of in that kingdom, and the rest were disposed of in the neighbouring countries. Most of these furs were already known in Europe; they came from the northern parts of our own

The furs are the foundation of the connections between the French and the Indians.

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hemisphere, but in too small quantities to bring them into general use. Caprice and novelty have brought them more or less into fashion, since it has been found to be for the interest of the American colonies that they should be admired in the mother countries. It may not be improper to say something of those that are still in use.

THE otter is a voracious animal, which as it runs or swims along the banks of the lakes or rivers, commonly lives upon fish, and when that fails, will live upon grass, and even the rind of aquatic plants. From his manner of living he has been ranked amongst amphibious animals, who can equally live in the air and under water; but improperly, since the otter cannot live without respiration, any more than all other land animals. It is sometimes found in all those parts which abound in water, and are temperate, but is much more common and larger in the northern parts of America. His hair is nowhere so black or so fine, a circumstance the more fatal to him, as it exposes him more particularly to the pursuits of man.

THE pole-cat is in great request on the same account. There are three sorts of them; the first is the common pole-cat, the second is called the mink, and the third the stinking pole-cat, because his urine, which he lets fly in his fright when he is pursued, is so offensive that it infects the air at a great distance. Their hair is darker, more glossy, and more silky than in Europe.

EVEN the rat in North-America is valuable for his skin. There are two sorts chiefly whose skin makes an article of trade. The one, which is called the Opossum, is twice as large as ours. His hair is commonly of a silver grey, sometimes of a clear white. The female has a bag under her belly, which she can open and shut at pleasure. When she is pursued, she puts her young into

into this bag, and runs away with them. The other, BOOK
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which is called the musk-rat, because his testicles contain musk, has all the properties of the beaver, of which he seems to be a diminutive, and his skin is employed for the same purposes.

THE Ermine, which is about the size of a squirrel, but not quite so long, has like him sprightly eyes, a keen look, and his motions are so quick that the eye cannot follow them. The tip of his long and bushy tail is as black as jet. His hair, which is as yellow as gold in summer, turns as white as snow in winter. This pretty brisk and light animal is one of the beauties of Canada; but though smaller than the Sable, is not so common.

THE Martin is only to be met with in cold countries, in the centre of the forest, far from any habitation, and lives upon birds. Though it is not more than a foot and a half in length, yet it leaves an impression on the snow, that appears to be that of a very large animal; for he always jumps along, and leaves the marks of both feet together. Its brown and yellow fur is much esteemed, though far inferior to that species which is distinguished by the name of the Sable. This is a shining black. The finest of the others is that whose brownest skin reaches along the back quite to the tip of the tail. The martins seldom quit the inmost recesses of their impenetrable woods but once in two or three years. The natives think it portends a good winter; that is, a great deal of snow, and consequently good sport.

THE animal which the ancients call the Lynx, known in Siberia by the name of the Ounce, is only called the wild cat in Canada, where it is smaller than in our hemisphere. This animal, to whom vulgar error would not have attributed very piercing eyes, if he was not endowed with the faculty of seeing, hearing and smelling

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at a distance, lives upon what game he can catch, which he pursues to the very tops of the tallest trees. His flesh is known to be very white and well flavoured, but he is hunted chiefly for the sake of his skin; the hair of which is very long, and of a fine light grey, but less esteemed than that of the Fox.

THIS carnivorous and mischievous animal is a native of the frozen climates, where nature affording few vegetables, seems to oblige all animals to eat one another. In warmer climates, he has lost much of his original beauty, and his hair has degenerated. In the north, it has remained long, soft and full, sometimes white, sometimes brown, and often red or sandy. The finest by far is black; but this is more scarce in Canada than in Muscovy, which lies further north, and is not so damp.

BESIDES these smaller furs, North-America supplies us with skins of the stag, the deer, and the roe-buck; of the mooze-deer, called there Caribou; and of the elk, which they call Orignal. These two last kinds, which in our hemisphere are only found towards the polar circle, the elk on this side, and the mooze-deer beyond, are to be met with in America in more southern latitudes. This may be owing to the cold being more intense in America, from singular causes which make an exception to the general law; or, possibly, that these newly discovered lands are less frequented by destructive man. Their strong, soft and warm skins make excellent garments, which are very light. All these animals are hunted for the Europeans; but the savages have a chase that always belonged to them, and is peculiarly their favourite. It is that of the bear, which is best adapted to their warlike manners, their strength and their bravery, and especially to their wants.

IN a cold and severe climate, the bear is most commonly black. As he is rather shy than fierce, instead of a cavern, he chuses for his lurking place the hollow rotten trunk of an old tree. There he takes his lodgment in winter, and as high as he can climb. As he is very fat at the end of autumn, takes no exercise, and is almost always asleep, he must lose but little by perspiration, and consequently must seldom want to go abroad in quest of food. But he is forced out of his retreat by setting fire to it; and as soon as he attempts to come down, he falls under a shower of arrows before he can reach the ground. The Indians feed upon his flesh, rub themselves with his grease, and clothe themselves with his skin. Such was the intent of their pursuit after the bear, when a new interest directed them to the pursuit of the beaver.

THIS animal possesses all the friendly dispositions fit for society, without any of the vices or misfortunes attendant upon it. Formed by nature for social life, he is endued with an instinct adapted to it for the preservation and propagation of his species; this animal, whose tender plaintive accents, and whose striking example draw tears of admiration and pity from the humane philosopher, who contemplates his life and manners; this harmless animal, who never hurts any living creature, who is neither carnivorous nor sanguinary, is become the object of man's most earnest pursuit, and the prey which the savages hunt after with the greatest eagerness and cruelty: a circumstance owing to the unmerciful rapaciousness of the most polished nations of Europe.

THE beaver is about three or four feet long, but his weight amounts to forty or sixty pounds, which is the consequence of the largeness of his muscles. His head, which he carries downwards, is like that of a rat, and his back raised in an arch above it like that of a mouse,

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Lucretius has observed, not that man has hands given him to make use of them, but that he had hands given him, and has made use of them. Thus the beaver has webs at his hinder feet, and he swims with them. The toes of his fore-feet are separate, and answer the purpose of hands; the tail, which is flat, oval, and covered with scales he uses by way of a hod and trowel; he has four sharp incisor teeth, which serve him instead of carpenters tools. All these instruments, which are in a manner useless whilst he lives alone, and do not then distinguish him from other animals, are of infinite service when he lives in society, and enable him to display a degree of ingenuity superior to all instinct.

WITHOUT passions, without a desire of doing injury to any, and without craft, when he does not live in society, he scarcely ventures to defend himself. He never bites unless he is laid hold on. But in the social state, in lieu of weapons, he has a variety of contrivances to secure himself without fighting, and to live without committing or suffering any injury. This peaceable and even tame animal is nevertheless independent; he is a slave to none, because all his wants are supplied by himself: he enters into society, but will not serve, nor does he pretend to command: and all his labours are directed by a silent instinct.

It is the common desire of supporting life, and multiplying their species, that calls the beavers home, and collects them together in summer to build their towns before the winter sets in. As early as June or July, they come in from all quarters, and assemble to the number of two or three hundred; but always by the water-side, for these republicans chuse to live on the water to secure themselves from invasion. Sometimes they give the preference to still lakes in unfrequented places, their waters lying always at an equal height. When they find no pools

of

of standing water, they make one in the midst of rivers or streams ; this they do by means of a causeway or dam. The mere planning of this contrivance implies such a complication of ideas, as our short-sighted reason would be apt to think above any capacity but that of an intelligent being. The first thing to be erected is a pile a hundred feet long, and twelve feet thick at the basis, which shelves off to two or three feet proportioned to the depth of the waters. To save work, or to facilitate their labour, they chuse the shallowest part of the river. If they find a large tree by the water-side, they fell it in such a manner, as it may fall across the stream. If it should be larger in circumference than a man's body, they saw it through, or rather gnaw the foot with their four sharp teeth. The branches are soon lopped off by these industrious workmen, who want to fashion it into a beam. A multitude of lesser trees are felled and cut to pieces for the intended pile. Some drag these trees to the river side, others swim over with them to the place where the causeway is to be raised. But the question is, how these animals are to sink them in the water with the assistance only of their teeth, a tail, and feet : and this is the manner in which they contrive it. With their claws they dig a hole in the ground, or at the bottom of the water. With their teeth they rest the large end of the stake against the bank of the river, or against the great beam that lies across. With their feet they raise the stake and sink it with the sharp end downwards into the hole, where it stands upright. With their tails they make mortar, with which they fill up all the vacancies between the stakes, which are bound together with twisted boughs ; and thus the pile is constructed. The slope of the dam is opposite to the current, the better to break the force of the water by a gradual resistance, and the
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stakes are driven in obliquely, in proportion to the inclination of the plane. The stakes are planted perpendicularly on the side where the water is to fall; and in order to open a drain which may lessen the action of the slope and weight of the causeway, they make two or three openings at the top of it, by which part of the waters of the river may run off.

WHEN this work is finished by the whole body of the republic, every member considers of a lodging for himself. Each company builds a hut in the water upon the pile. These huts are from four to ten feet in diameter, upon an oval or round spot. Some are two or three stories high, according to the number of families or house-holders. Each hut contains at least two or three, and some ten or fifteen. The walls, whether high or low, are about two feet thick, and are all arched at the top, and perfectly neat and solid both within and without. The outside is varnished with a kind of stucco, impenetrable both to water and to the external air. Every apartment has two openings, one on the land side to admit them to go out to procure provisions, the others on that next the stream, to facilitate their escape, at the approach of the enemy, that is, of man the destroyer of cities and commonwealths. The window of the house opens to the water. There they take the fresh air in the day time, plunged into the river up to their middle. In winter it serves to fence them against the ice, which gathers to the thickness of two or three feet. The shelf, which is to prevent its stopping up this window, rests upon two stakes that slope in such a manner as may best carry off the water from the house, and leave an outlet to creep out, or to go and swim under the ice. The inside of the house has no other furniture than a flooring of grass, covered with

with boughs of the fir-tree. No filth of any kind is ever found in these apartments. BOOK
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THE materials for these buildings are always to be found in their neighbourhood. These are alders, poplars, and other trees delighting in watery places, as these republicans do who build their apartments of them. These citizens have the satisfaction at the same time that they fashion the wood, to nourish themselves with it. In imitation of certain savages of the frozen ocean, they eat the bark. The savages, indeed, do not like it till it is dried, pounded and properly dressed; whereas the beavers chew it and suck it when it is quite green. They lay up a provision of bark and tender twigs in separate store-houses for every hut, proportionable to the number of its inhabitants. Every beaver knows his own store-house, and not one of them pilfers his neighbour's. Each party lives in its own habitation and is contented with it, however sensible of the property it has acquired in the whole fabric by its labour. The provisions of the community are collected and expended without dissensions. They are satisfied with that simple food which their labour prepares for them. The only passion they have is that of conjugal affection, the basis and end of which is the propagation of their species. Towards the end of winter, *the mother* brings forth her young, the consequence of her autumnal cohabitation with the male. As soon as the sun approaches to enliven and expel the dreary winter, *the father* ranges through the woods, allured by the sweets of the spring, leaving to his little family the room he took up in his narrow cell, the dam suckles and nurses them, to the number of two or three. Then she takes them with her in her excursions, in search of cray and other fish and green bark, to recruit her own strength and to feed them, till the season of labour returns.

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THIS republican, industrious, intelligent people, skilled in architecture, provident and systematical in its plans of police and society, is the beaver, whose gentle and exemplary manners we have been describing. Happy if his covering did not tempt merciless and savage man to destroy his buildings and his race. Frequently when the Americans have demolished the settlements of the beavers, those indefatigable animals have had the resolution to build them up again, for several summers successively, upon the very same spot. The winter is the time for attacking them. Experience warns them of their danger. At the approach of the hunters, one of them strikes a hard stroke with his tail upon the water; this signal spreads a general alarm throughout all the huts of the commonwealth, and every one tries to save himself under the ice. But it is very difficult to escape all the snares that are laid for this harmless tribe.

SOMETIMES the hunters lie in wait for them, but as these animals see and hear at a great distance, they can seldom be shot by the water-side, and they never venture so far from it as to be caught by surprise. Should the beaver be wounded before he has got under water, he has always time enough to plunge in, and if he dies afterwards, he is lost, because he sinks, and never rises again.

A MORE certain way of catching beavers is, by laying traps in the woods, where they eat tender bark of young trees. These traps are baited with fresh slips of wood, and as soon as the beavers touch them, an enormous weight falls and crushes their loins. The man, who is concealed near the place, hastens to it, seizes his prey, and having dispatched it, carries it off.

OTHER methods are still more commonly and more successfully practised. The huts are sometimes attacked,

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in order to drive out the inhabitants, and then wait for them at the edges of the holes they have made in the ice, where they cannot avoid coming to take in fresh air. The moment they appear, they are knocked on the head. At other times the animal, driven out of his lodgment, is entangled in the nets that are spread all round, by breaking up the ice for some toises round his hut. If they want to catch the whole colony at once, instead of breaking down the sluices to drown the inhabitants, as it might be done in Holland, they open the causeway, to drain off the water from the pool where the beavers live. When they are thus left dry, defenceless, and unable to escape, they may be caught at pleasure and destroyed at any time: but care is always taken to leave a sufficient number of males and females to preserve the breed; an act of generosity which in reality proceeds only from avarice. The cruel foresight of man only spares a few in order to have the more to destroy. The beaver, whose plaintive cry seems to implore his clemency and pity, finds in the savage, whom the Europeans have made barbarous, only an implacable enemy, who no longer fights so much to supply his own wants, as to furnish superfluities to another world.

If we compare the manners, the police and the industry of the beavers, with the wandering life of the savages of Canada; we shall be inclined to admit, first making an allowance for the superiority of man's faculties above those of animals, that the beaver was much further advanced in the arts of social life than his pursuer, when the Europeans first brought their talents and improvements to North-America.

THE beaver, an older inhabitant of that world than man, and the quiet possessor of those regions so well adapted to his species, had employed that quiet he had enjoyed

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enjoyed for many ages, in the improvement of his faculties. In our hemisphere, man has seized upon the most wholesome and fertile regions, and has driven out or subdued all other animals. If the bee and the ant have preserved their laws and government from the jealous and destructive dominion of this tyrant, it has been owing to their being objects too diminutive. It is thus we see some republics, having neither splendor nor strength, maintain themselves by their very insignificance, in the midst of the vast monarchies of Europe, which must sooner or later swallow them up. But the sociable quadrupeds, banished into uninhabited climates, unfit for their increase, have been unconnected in all places, incapable of uniting into a community, or of improving their natural sagacity; whilst man, who has reduced them to that precarious state, exults in their degradation, and prides himself in that superior nature and those rational powers, which constitute a perpetual distinction between his species and all others.

THE brutes, we are told, bring nothing to perfection: their operations, therefore, can only be mechanical, and suppose no principle similar to that which actuates man. Without examining in what particulars perfection consists; whether the most civilized being is in reality the most perfect; whether what he acquires in the property of things, he does not lose it in the property of his person; or, whether all he adds to his enjoyments, is not so much subtracted from his duration; we cannot but confess that the beaver, which in Europe is a wandering, solitary, timorous and stupid animal, was in Canada acquainted with civil and domestic government; knew how to distinguish the proper seasons for labour and rest, was acquainted with some rules of architecture, and with the curious and complicated art of constructing dikes. Yet he had attained to this degree of

of improvement with feeble and imperfect tools. He **BOOK**
can hardly see the work he does with his tail. His teeth, **I.**
which answers the purposes of a variety of tools, are
circular, and confined by the lips. Man, on the con-
trary, with hands fit for every purpose, hath in the
organization of his body all the combined powers of
of strength and dexterity. Is it not to this advantage
of construction that he owes the superiority of his spe-
cies above all others? It is not because his eyes are
turned towards heaven, as those of all birds are, that he
is the lord of the creation; it is because he is provided
with hands that are supple, and made formidable by
weapons of defence, which are ever ready to assist
him. His hand is his sceptre: it is with that he marks
his dominion over the earth, by destroying and ravaging
the face of the globe. The surest sign of the population
of mankind is the depopulation of other species. That
of the beaver gradually decreases in Canada, since the
Europeans have been in request of their skins.

THEIR skins vary with the climate, both in colour
and kind. In the same district, however, where the co-
lonies of civilized beavers are found, there are some that
are wild and solitary. These animals, who are said to
be turned out of the society for ill behaviour, live in
a channel under ground, not having constructed any edi-
fice for their dwelling or the preservation of their food.
Their coat is dirty, and the hair is worn off of their backs
by rubbing against the cave, which they dig for their ha-
bitation. This kennel generally opens into a pond or
ditch filled with water, is extended above an hundred
feet in length, and slopes gradually upwards to facilitate
their escape from inundations, when the waters rise.
Some of these beavers are so wild as to fly from all com-
munication with their natural element, and to live en-
tirely on land. In this they agree with our otters in
Europe. These wild beavers have not such sleek hair

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as those that live in societies ; their furs are answerable to their manners.

BEAVERS are found in America from the thirtieth to sixtieth degree of north latitude. There are but few towards the south, but they increase in number and grow darker as we advance towards the north. In the country of the Illinois, they are yellow and straw coloured ; higher up, they are of a light chestnut ; to the north of Canada of a dark chestnut, and some are even found that are quite black, and these are reckoned the finest. Yet in this climate, the coldest that is inhabited by this species, there are some among the black that are quite white, others white speckled with grey, and sometimes with sandy spots on their rumps : so much does nature delight in shewing the gradations of warmth and cold, and their various influences, not only on the figure, but on the very clothing of animals. The value that men set on their lives, depends upon the colour of their skins. Some they neglect to that degree, that they will not even kill them, but this is uncommon.

In what places, and in what manner the fur trade was carried on.

THE fur trade was the first the Europeans carried on in Canada. It was first opened by the French colony at Tadoussac, a port situated thirty leagues below Quebec. About the year 1640, the town of Les Trois Rivières at the distance of twenty-five leagues from the capital and higher up, became a second mart. In process of time all the fur trade centered in Montreal. The skins were brought thither on canoes made of the bark of trees in the month of June. The number of Indians who resorted to that place increased, as the fame of the French spread further. The account of the reception they had met with, the sight of the things they had received in exchange for their goods, every thing contributed to increase the concourse. Whenever they returned with a fresh

fresh supply of furs they always brought a new nation with them. Thus a kind of fair was opened, to which the several tribes of that vast continent resorted.

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THE English grew jealous of this breach of wealth; and the colony they had founded at New York, soon found means to divert the stream of this great circulation. As soon as they had secured a subsistence, by bestowing their first attention upon agriculture, they began to think of the fur trade, which was at first confined to the country of the Iroquois. The five nations of that name, would not suffer their lands to be traversed in order to give an opportunity of treating with other savage nations, that were at constant enmity with them; nor would they allow those nations to come upon their territories, to share in competition with them the profits of the trade they had opened with the Europeans. But time having extinguished, or rather suspended the national hostilities between the Indians, the English spread all over the country, and the savages flocked to them from all quarters. This nation had infinite advantages for obtaining the preference over their rivals the French. Their navigation was easier, and consequently they could afford to undersell them. They were the only manufacturers of the coarse cloths that best suited the savages. The beaver trade was free among them, whereas among the French, it was and ever has been subject to the tyranny of monopoly. It was by this freedom and these indulgencies, that they engrossed most of the trade that rendered Montreal so famous.

AT this time the French in Canada indulged themselves more freely in a custom, which at first had been confined within narrow bounds. Their inclination for frequenting the woods, which was that of the first colonists, had been wisely restrained within the limits of the territory belonging to the colony. Permission was, however,

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ever, granted every year to twenty-five persons to extend beyond these limits to trade with the Indians. The superiority which New York was acquiring, was the cause of increasing the number of these permissions. They were a kind of patent, which the patentees might make use of either in person or by proxy, and which lasted a year or more. They were sold, and their produce distributed by the governor of the colony to the officers, or their widows and children, to hospitals and missionaries, to such as had distinguished themselves by some great action, or some useful undertaking; and sometimes even to the creatures of the governor to whom the sale of those patents was consigned. The money which he did not give away, or did not chuse to keep, was put into the public coffers; but he was accountable to none for this part of his administration.

THIS custom was attended with fatal consequences. Many of these traders settled among the Indians, to defraud their partners whose goods they had disposed of. Many more went and settled among the English, where the profits were greater. Several of our people were lost upon immense lakes, frequently agitated with violent storms; among the cascades, which render navigation so dangerous up the broadest rivers in the whole world; under the weight of their canoes, their provisions, and the bales of goods, which they were forced to carry upon their shoulders at the *carrying places*, where the rapidity or shallowness of the water obliged them to quit the rivers, and pursue their journey by land. Numbers perished in the snow and on the ice, by hunger or by the sword of the enemy. Those who returned to the colony with a profit of six or seven hundred *per cent.* were not always the more useful members, as they gave themselves up to the greatest excesses, and by their example, disgusted others from assiduous labours. Their fortunes disappeared

disappeared as quickly as they had been amassed, like those moving mountains which a whirlwind raises and destroys at once on the sandy plains of Africa. Most of these travelling traders, spent with the excessive fatigues which their avarice prompted them to undergo, and the licentiousness of a wandering and dissolute life, brought on a premature old age in indigence and infamy. The government took notice of these irregularities, and put the fur trade upon a better footing.

FRANCE had for a long time been incessantly employed in erecting a number of forts, which were thought necessary for her preservation and aggrandizement in North America. Those they built to the west and south of the river St. Lawrence, were large and strong, and were intended to confine the ambition of the English. Those which were erected on the several lakes in the most important places, formed a chain which extended northward to the distance of a thousand leagues from Quebec; but they were only miserable pallisades, intended to keep the Indians in awe, and to secure their alliance, and the produce of their chase. There was a garrison in each, more or less numerous, according to the importance of the post, and of the enemies who threatened it. It was thought proper to intrust the commandant of each of these forts, with the exclusive right of buying and selling in the whole district under his dominion. This privilege was purchased; but as it was always productive of profit, and sometimes of a considerable fortune, it was granted to none, but such officers as were most in favour. If any of these had not a stock sufficient for the undertaking, he could easily get some monied men to join with him. It was pretended that this system, far from being contrary to the benefit of the service, was a means of promoting it, as it obliged the gentlemen of the army to

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keep up a more constant connection with the natives, to watch their motions, and to neglect nothing that could secure their friendship. However evident no one chose to foresee, that this could not fail of stifling every sentiment but that of self-interest, and would be a source of perpetual oppression.

THIS tyranny, which soon became universal, was severely felt at Frontenac, at Niagara, and at Toronto. The farmers of those three forts, abusing their privilege, set so low a value upon the goods that were brought them, and rated their own so high, that by degrees the Indians would not stop there. They went in vast numbers to Chouaguen, on the lake Ontario, where the English dealt with them upon more advantageous terms. These new connections were represented as alarming to the court of France, who found means to weaken them, by taking the trade of these three posts into her own hands, and treating the Indians still better than they were treated by the rival nation.

THE consequence of this monopoly was, that the king got possession of no other than the refuse of the furs and skins, and of the beasts only that were killed in summer and autumn; the two most unfavourable seasons of the year for preserving them. All these damaged furs, unfairly bought, and carelessly heaped up in ware-houses, were eaten by the moths. At the proper season for sending them to Quebec, they were put into boats, and left to the discretion of soldiers, passengers and watermen, who, as they had no interest in the goods, did not take the least care to keep them dry. When they came into the hands of the managers of the colony, they were sold for half of the little they were worth. Thus the returns were rather less than the sums advanced by the government for this losing trade.

BUT

BUT though this trade was of no value to the king, it may yet be doubted whether it brought any profit to the Indians, though gold and silver were not the dangerous medium of their traffic. They received, indeed, in exchange for their furs; saws, knives, hatchets, kettles, fish-hooks, needles, thread, ordinary linen, coarse woollen stuffs, the first tokens or bands of sociability. But we sold them articles likewise that would have proved prejudicial to them, even as a gift or a present, such as guns, powder and shot, tobacco, and especially brandy.

THIS liquor, the most fatal present the old world ever made to the new, was no sooner known to the savages, than they grew passionately fond of it. It was equally impossible for them to abstain from it, or to use it with moderation. It was soon observed, that this liquor disturbed their domestic peace; deprived them of their judgment; made them furious; and occasioned husbands, wives, children, brothers and sisters, to abuse and quarrel with one another. In vain did some sober Frenchmen expostulate with them, and endeavour to shame them out of these excesses. It is you, answered they, who have taught us to drink this liquor; and now we cannot do without it. If you refuse to give it us, we will go and get it of the English. It is you have done the mischief, and it cannot be repaired.

THE court of France, upon receiving contradictory information with respect to the disorders occasioned by this pernicious trade, hath alternately prohibited, tolerated, and authorized it, according to the light in which it was represented to the ministry. In the midst of these variations, the interest of the merchants was seldom at a stand. The sale of brandy was at all times nearly the same. Rational men considered it, however, as the principal cause of the diminution of the human race, and

consequently of the skins of beasts, which became every day more and more evident.

THIS decay of the fur trade was not yet so remarkable as it has been since, when the promotion of the duke of Anjou to the throne of Charles V. spread an alarm over all Europe, and plunged it once more into the horrors of a general war. The conflagration extended beyond the seas, and was advancing even to Canada, had not the Iroquois put a stop to it. The English and French had long vied with each other in courting the alliance of that nation. These demonstrations of esteem or fear, had so elevated their natural pride, that they thought themselves the umpires of the two rival nations, and pretended that their interests were to regulate the conduct of both. As they were inclined to peace at that time, they haughtily declared that they would take up arms against either of the two, which should commence hostilities against the other. This resolution suited the situation of the French colony, which was ill provided for a war, and expected no assistance from the mother country. New York, on the contrary, whose forces already considerable, were daily increasing, wished to prevail upon the Iroquois to join with them. Their insinuations, presents, and negotiations were ineffectual till 1709. At that period they succeeded in seducing the five nations; and their troops, which till then had remained inactive, marched out supported by a vast number of Indian warriors.

THE army was proudly advancing towards the center of Canada with the greatest probability of conquering, when one of the chiefs of the Iroquois, who had never approved of their proceedings, simply said to his people, what will become of us, if we should succeed in driving away the French? These few words, uttered with a mysterious and anxious look, immediately recall-

ed to the minds of all the people their former system, which was to keep the balance even between the two foreign nations, in order to secure their own independence. They instantly resolved to forsake a plan they had been too precipitately engaged in, contrary to the public interest; but as they thought it would be shameful openly to quit their associates, they imagined that secret treachery might be substituted in the place of open defection. The lawless savages, the virtuous Spartans, the religious Hebrews, the sagacious and warlike Greeks and Romans, all people, whether civilized or not, have always made what is called the right of nations consist either in craft or violence.

THE army had halted on the banks of a little river to wait for the artillery and ammunition. The Iroquois, who spent their leisure hours in hunting, contrived to strip all the beasts they caught, and throw their skins into the river, a little above the camp. The waters were soon infected. The English, who suspected no such perfidy, continued drinking of the poisoned stream. Such numbers immediately died, that they were forced to desist.

A STILL more imminent danger threatened the French colony. A numerous fleet destined against Quebec, entered the river St. Lawrence the following year, with the greatest probability of success, if it could but reach the place of its destination. But the rashness of the admiral, joined to the violence of the elements, occasioned its destruction in the river. Thus was Canada at once delivered from its anxieties both by sea and land, and had the glory of maintaining itself without succours and without loss, against the strength and policy of the English.

FRANCE, however, which for forty years had alone withstood the combined efforts of all Europe, vanquished or repulsed all the united nations, accomplished that with

France is
compelled
to cede
part of the
provinces,
that were
united to
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her own subjects, under Lewis XIV. which Charles V. had not been able to effect, with the innumerable troops of his several kingdoms. France which had, at that time, as many great men as would have immortalized twenty reigns, and in the course of one reign had done as many great actions, as might have aggrandized twenty nations, was then upon the point of crowning all these glorious successes, by placing a branch of the house of Bourbon on the throne of Spain. She had then fewer enemies and a greater number of allies, than she ever had in the most brilliant periods of her prosperity. Every thing concurred to promise her an easy success, a speedy and decisive superiority.

It was not fortune but nature itself that changed her destiny. Haughty and vigorous under a king in all the graces and strength of youth, after having risen with him through the several degrees of glory and grandeur, she sunk with him through all the periods of decay incident to human nature. The spirit of bigotry, which had been introduced into the court by an ambitious woman, determined the choice of ministers, generals, and administrators ; and this choice was always blind and unfortunate. Kings, who like other men have recourse to heaven, when they are ready to quit the earth, seem in their old age to seek for a new set of flatterers, who sooth them with hopes, at the time when all realities are disappearing. Then it is that hypocrisy, ever ready to take advantage of the first and second childhood of life, awakens in the soul the ideas that had been early implanted in it ; and under pretence of guiding the man to the only happiness that remains for him, assumes an absolute empire over his will. But as this latter time of life, as well as the first, is a state of weakness, a continual fluctuation, must therefore prevail in the government.

Cabals

Cabals grow more violent and more powerful than ever; the expectations of intriguing men are raised; and merit is less rewarded; superior talents are afraid to make themselves known; solicitations of every kind press forward; places fall by chance upon men all unequally unfit to fill them, and yet, presumptuous enough to think they deserve them; men who rate the estimation they entertain of themselves by the contempt they have of others. The nation then loses its strength, with its confidence, and every thing goes on as it is begun, without design, vigour or understanding.

To raise a country from a state of barbarism, to maintain it in the height of its glory, and to check the rapidity of its decline, are three things very difficult to accomplish; but the last is certainly the most arduous of them all. A nation rises out of barbarism by sudden efforts exerted at intervals; it supports itself at the summit of its prosperity by the powers it has acquired; it declines by an universal languor, which has been prepared by almost imperceptible gradations. Barbarous nations require a long continued reign; but reigns of a short duration are best adapted to prosperous ones. But the tedious imbecility of a declining monarch lays the foundation of evils for his successor, which it is almost impossible to remedy.

SUCH was the latter part of the reign of Lewis XIV. After a series of defeats and mortifications, he was still happy that he could purchase peace by sacrifices which denoted his humiliation. But he seemed to wish to conceal these sacrifices from his people, by making them chiefly beyond sea. It is easy to judge how much his pride must have suffered, in giving up to the English Hudson's bay, Newfoundland, and Acadia, three possessions

B O O K sessions which, together with Canada, formed that immense tract of country, known by the glorious name of New France. The next book will shew us how this kingdom, accustomed to conquest, endeavoured to repair her losses.

I.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

BOOK

B O O K II.

Account of the French settlements in North America continued.

THE war, carried on for the Spanish succession, had raised a ferment in the four quarters of the world, which have been disturbed by the commotions of Europe for these two centuries past. Every throne was shaken in contending for one, which under the dominion of Charles V. had struck terror into them all. One house ruling over five or six states, had raised the Spanish nation to a pitch of greatness which could not fail of being highly flattering to her. A house whose power was still superior, from having its dominions more connected together, was ambitious of giving the law to that haughty nation. The names of Austria and Bourbon, which had been rivals for two hundred years, were now exerting their last efforts to acquire a superiority, which should no longer be precarious or doubtful between them. The matter of contention was, which of the two should have the greatest number of crowns to boast the possession of. Europe, divided between the claims of the two houses, which were not altogether ground-

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groundless, was inclined to allow them to extend their branches, but not to permit that several scepters should be united to one house, as had formerly been the case. All took up arms to disperse or divide a vast inheritance; and resolved to pull it to pieces, rather than suffer it to be attached to a power, which, with this additional weight of strength, must infallibly destroy the balance of all the rest. The war was a long one, because it was supported on all sides by numerous forces and great abilities, by warlike people and skilful generals; it desolated the countries it should have succoured, and even ruined the nations that had no concern in it. Victory should have given the law, but this was so wavering, that it served but to kindle the flames of discord. The same troops that were successful in one country, were foiled in another. The people who triumphed on the sea, were defeated on the land. The news of the loss of a fleet and the gaining of a battle arrived at the same time. Success fluctuated from one camp to another, but to complete their mutual destruction. At last, when the blood and treasure of the several states were exhausted, and after a series of calamities and expences, that had lasted near twelve years, the nations who had profited by their misfortunes, and were weakened by their struggles, were solicitous of repairing their losses. They endeavoured to find in the new world the means of repopulating and re-establishing the old. France first turned her views towards North-America, to which she seemed invited by the similarity of soil and climate, and the island of Cape-Breton became immediately the object of her attention.

The French to repair their losses people and fortify Cape-Breton; and establish considerable fisheries there.

THE English considered this possession as an equivalent for all that the French had lost by the treaty of Utrecht, and not being thoroughly reconciled with them, strongly opposed their being allowed to people and

and fortify it. They saw no other method of excluding them from the cod-fishery, and making the entrance into Canada difficult for their ships. The moderation of queen Anne, or, perhaps, the corruption of her ministers, prevented France from being exposed to this fresh mortification: and she was authorized to make what alterations she might think proper at Cape-Breton.

THIS island is situated at the entrance of the gulph of St. Lawrence, between the 45th and 47th degrees of north latitude. Newfoundland lies to the east, on the same gulph, and is only 15 or 16 leagues distant from it; and to the west, Acadia is only separated from the island by a streight, not more than 3 or 4 leagues over. Thus situated between the territories ceded to her enemies, she threatened their possessions, while she protected those of France. The island measures about 36 leagues in length, and 22 in its greatest breadth. It is beset on all sides with little sharp-pointed rocks, separated from each other by the waves, above which some of their tops are visible. All its harbours open to the east, and as one turns towards the south. On the other parts of the coast, there are but a few anchoring places for small vessels, in creeks, or between small islands. Except in the hilly parts, the surface of the country has but little firmness, being every where covered with a light moss and with water. The dampness of the ground exhales itself in fogs, without rendering the air unwholesome. In other respects, the climate is very cold, which is owing either to the prodigious quantity of lakes, covering above half the island, and which remain for a long while frozen, or to the number of forests, that render it inaccessible to the rays of the sun; the effect of which is already diminished by perpetual clouds.

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THOUGH some fishermen had long since resorted to Cape Breton every summer, yet not above twenty or thirty had ever fixed there. The French who took possession of it in August 1713, were properly the first inhabitants. They changed its name into that of *Île Royale*, and pitched upon Fort Dauphin for their principal settlement. This harbour was two leagues in circumference. The ships which came to the very edge, were sheltered from winds. Forests affording oak sufficient to build and fortify a large city, were near at hand. The ground appeared less barren than in other parts, and the fishery was more plentiful. This harbour might have been made impregnable at a trifling expence, but the difficulty of getting at it, a circumstance that had at first made a stronger impression than the advantages resulting from it, occasioned it to be abandoned even after great labour had been bestowed upon it. They then turned their views to *Louisbourg*, the access of which was easier, and convenience was thus preferred to security.

The harbour of *Louisbourg*, situated on the eastern coast of the island, is at least a league in depth, and above a quarter of a league across in the narrowest part. Its bottom is good, the soundings are usually from six to ten fathom, and it is easy to tack about in it, either to get in or out, even in bad weather. It incloses a small gulph very commodious for refitting ships of all burthens, which may even winter there with proper precautions. The only inconvenience attending this excellent harbour, is, that it is frozen up from November till May, and frequently it is not free till June. The entrance, which is naturally narrow, is further guarded by *Goat island*. The cannon of which playing upon a level with the surface of the water, would sink any ship that should attempt to force the passage. There are two batteries

batteries, one of thirty-six, the other of twelve twenty-four pounders, erected on the opposite shores, to support and cross this formidable fire.

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THE town was built on an oblong slip of land that advances into the sea, and is about half a league in circuit; the streets are broad and regular. Almost all the houses are made of wood. Those that are built of stone, have been constructed at the expence of the government, and are destined for the reception of the troops. A number of wharfs have been erected, that jet out a considerable way into the harbour, and are extremely convenient to load and unload the ships.

It was only in 1720 that the fortification of Louisbourg was begun. This undertaking was executed upon a very good plan, and with such works as render a place formidable. A space of about a hundred toises only, was left without ramparts on the side next the sea, that being thought sufficiently defended by its situation. It was stopped up by a kind of dam. The sea was so shallow in that place, that it made a kind of narrow canal, and so surrounded with rocks that it was inaccessible to any shipping whatever, and the side bastions completed the security of that spot from any descent.

THE necessity there was of bringing stone from Europe, and many other materials necessary for these great works, sometimes retarded their progress, but never put an end to them. More than thirty millions of livres, (1,312,500*l.*) were expended upon them. This was not thought too great a sum for the support of the fisheries, for securing the communication between France and Canada, and for opening a shelter in time of war, to ships coming from the southern islands. Nature

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II. ture and sound policy required, that the riches of the south, should be protected by the strength of the north.

IN the year 1714, some fishermen, who till then had lived in Newfoundland, came and settled in this island. It was expected they would be followed by the Acadians, who by the treaty were at liberty to remove with all their moveables, and even to dispose of their estates; but these hopes were disappointed. The Acadians chose rather to retain their possessions under the dominion of England, than to give them up for any precarious advantage they might derive from their attachment to France. Their place was supplied by some miserable adventurers from Europe, who came over from time to time to Cape Breton, so that the population of the colony gradually increased to the number of four thousand souls. They were settled at Louisbourg, Fort Dauphin, Port Toulouse, Nericka, and on all the coasts where they found a proper beach for drying the cod.

THE inhabitants never applied themselves to agriculture, the soil being unfit for it. They have often attempted to sow corn, but it seldom came to maturity; and when it did thrive so far as to be worth reaping, it had so much degenerated, that it could not serve for seed for the next harvest. They have not persisted in sowing any thing but a few pot-herbs, that are tolerably well tasted, but must be renewed every year from abroad. The poorness and scarcity of pastures has likewise prevented the increase of cattle. In a word, the soil of Cape Breton seemed to invite none but fishermen and soldiers.

THOUGH the island was covered with forests before it was inhabited, its wood has scarce ever been an object of trade. Not but that a great quantity of soft wood was found there that was fit for firing, and some that might

might be used for timber ; but the oak has always been very scarce there, and the deal never yielded much resin.

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THE fur trade was but an insignificant object. The island afforded only a few lynxes, elks, musk rats, wild cats, bears, otters, and foxes both of a red and silver grey colour. Some of their skins were procured from a colony of Mickmac Indians, who had settled on the island with the French, and never could raise more than sixty men able to bear arms. The rest came from St. John's, or the neighbouring continent.

IT would have been possible to draw greater advantages from the coal mines, which abound on the island. They lie in an horizontal direction, and are never above six or eight feet below the surface, so that they can be worked without digging deep, or draining off the waters. Though there had been a prodigious demand for them from New England, from the year 1745 to 1749, these mines would, probably, have been forsaken, had not the ships sent out to the French islands wanted ballast. A fire which could never be extinguished, has raged in one of these mines. It burns still, and it may be supposed that it will one day occasion some extraordinary explosion. If the carelessness of one man has been capable by a single spark of kindling a fire, which for these several years devours the bowels of the earth, how little exertion does nature require to stir up a volcano, able to consume a whole country with its inhabitants !

THE whole activity of the colony has constantly been exerted in the cod fishery. The less wealthy inhabitants employed yearly two hundred boats in this fishery, and the richest fifty or sixty vessels from thirty to fifty tons burden. The small craft always kept within four or five leagues of the coast, and returned at night to bring their fish home, which being immediately cured,

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had always the utmost degree of perfection it was capable of. The larger snacks went to fish further out, kept their cargo for several days, and as the fish was apt to take too much salt, it was not so much valued. But this inconvenience was balanced by the advantage of following their prey, when the want of food drove it from the island; and by the facility of carrying the produce of their labours, to the southern islands in autumn, or even to France.

BESIDES the fishermen settled on the island, others came every year from France to dry their fish, either in the habitations, where they agreed with the owners, or upon the beach, which was always reserved for their use.

THE mother country regularly sent them ships loaded with provisions, liquors, wearing apparel, household goods, and all things necessary for the inhabitants of the colony. The largest of these ships, confining themselves to trade, went back to Europe as soon as they had bartered their lading for cod. Those from fifty to a hundred tons burden, after having landed their little cargo, went a fishing themselves, and did not return home till the season was over.

THE people of Cape Breton did not send all their fish to Europe. They sent part of it to the French southern islands, on board twenty or twenty-five ships, from seventy to a hundred and forty tons burden. Besides the fish, which made half their cargo, they exported to the other colonies, timber, planks, thin boards of oak, salt salmon and mackarel, train oil, and sea coal. All these were paid for in sugar and coffee, but chiefly in rum and molasses.

THE island could not consume all these commodities. Canada took off but a small part of their overplus; it was mostly bought by the people of New England, who gave them in exchange fruits, vegetables, wood,

brick

brick and cattle. This bartering was allowed; but besides this, they smuggled flour, and a considerable quantity of salt fish. BOOK
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NOTWITHSTANDING this circulation, which was all carried on at Louisbourg, most of the colonists were in a wretched state of poverty. This was owing to the dependence to which their indigence had subjected them on their first arrival. Unable as they were to procure the necessary implements for the fishery, they had borrowed some at an excessive interest. Even those who were not reduced to this necessity, were soon obliged to submit to the hard terms of borrowing. The dearth of salt and provisions, together with the fishings that turned out ill, drove them to it in a short time, and they sunk under the distress of paying twenty or five and twenty *per cent.* a year for every thing they borrowed. Such is one of the several hardships that attend an inequality of stations in life, that a man who was not born to a fortune, can hardly ever acquire one but by violence or fraud, the means by which the most opulent families have amassed their riches. Even commerce can but barely supply their place by industry and assiduous labour. But all the French colonies of New France were not doomed to languish in this deplorable state.

THE island of St. John, more favourably situated, Settlement of the French in the island of St. John. has been kinder to its inhabitants. It lies further up the gulph of St. Lawrence, is twenty-two leagues long, and not much above a league broad in the widest part. It appears in the form of a crescent, both ends terminating in sharp points. Though the right of this island had never been disputed with France, yet that crown appeared to despise it till the peace of Utrecht. The loss of Acadia and Newfoundland made them turn

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their views to this small remaining spot, and the government began to enquire what use could be made of it.

It appeared that the winters here were long, the cold extreme with abundance of snow, and prodigious quantities of insects; but that a healthy coast, an excellent sea-port, and commodious harbours, made amends for these defects. The country was flat, and enriched with fine pastures, watered by an infinite number of rivulets and springs; the soil exceedingly diversified, and fit for the culture of every kind of grain: there was plenty of game, and multitudes of wild beasts; amazing shoals of fish of all sorts; and a greater number of savage inhabitants than were found on any of the other islands. This circumstance alone was a proof how much it was superior to the rest.

THE report of this in France, gave rise to a company in 1719, set on foot with the double view of clearing this fertile island, and of establishing a great cod fishery there. Unfortunately, interest which had brought the adventurers together, divided them again, before ever they had put their design into execution. St. John was again forgotten, when the Acadians began to remove to that island in 1749. In process of time they increased to the number of 3154. As they were for the most part husbandmen, and particularly accustomed to the breeding of cattle, the government thought proper to fix them to this kind of business; and the cod fishery was only allowed to be carried on, by those who settled at Tracadia, and at St. Peter.

PROHIBITIONS and monopolies, whilst they are a check upon industry, are equally detrimental to the labours they permit, and to those they prohibit. Though the island of St. John does not afford a sufficient extent of sea shore, fit for drying the vast quantities of cod that come

come in shoals to the coasts, and though the fish is too large to be easily dried, yet it was incumbent upon a power whose fisheries are not sufficient for the consumption of its own subjects, to encourage this kind of employment. If there were too few drying places for the quantity that could be caught, they could easily prepare what they call green cod, which alone would have made an excellent branch of commerce.

By confining the settlers of St. John to agriculture, they were deprived of all resource in those unlucky years too common on the island, when the crops are devoured by the field mice and grasshoppers. They made no advantage of the exchanges which the mother country could and ought to have made with her colony. Lastly, in wanting to favour agriculture, they obstructed its progress, by laying the inhabitants under an impossibility of procuring the necessary articles for extending it.

ONLY one small vessel or two came annually to the island from Europe, and landed at port La Joie, where they were supplied with all they wanted from Louisbourg, and paid for it in wheat, barley, oats, pulse, black cattle and sheep. A party of fifty men served rather as a guard to their police, than a defence to them. Their commanding officer was dependent on Cape Breton, which was itself under the controul of the governor of Canada. The command of this last officer extended to a great distance, over a vast continent, the richest part of which was Louisiana.

THIS province, which the Spaniards formerly comprehended under the name of Florida, was not discovered by the French till the year 1673. They were told by the savages, that to the west of Canada, there was a great river, which flowed neither to the north nor to the east, and they concluded that it must there-

Discovery
of the Mis-
sissippi by
the French.

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fore empty itself into the gulph of Mexico, if its course were southward, or into the south sea, if it were westward. The communication with these two seas was of such importance, as to deserve some enquiry. This undertaking was committed to Joliet, an inhabitant of Quebec, a man of sense and experience, and to the jesuit Marquette, whose virtues were respected by all the nations inhabiting that continent.

THESE two men, whose intentions were equally honest, always lived in the most friendly intimacy with each other. They went both together from the lake Michigan, entered the river of the Foxes, which empties into that lake, and went up almost to the head of the river, notwithstanding the currents which render that navigation difficult. After some days march, they again embarked on the river Ouisconsin, and keeping always westward, they came to the Mississippi, and sailed down that river as far as the Akansas, about the 33d degree of latitude. Their zeal would have carried them further, but they were in want of provisions. It would have been imprudent to have ventured too far, with only three or four men, in an unknown country; and besides, they were convinced that this river ran into the gulph of Mexico, and they returned therefore to Canada. When they entered the river of the Illinois, they found these people pretty numerous, and inclined to a friendly intercourse with their nation. Without concealing or exaggerating any particular, they communicated to the chief man of the colony all the information they had got.

AMONGST the inhabitants of New France at that time, was a Norman, named La Salle, who was impelled both by the desire of making a great fortune, and of establishing a brilliant reputation. This man had spent his younger years among the jesuits, where he had

had contracted that activity, that enthusiasm, that resolute spirit, which those fathers so well know how to instil into their disciples, when they meet with young men of quick parts, with whom they are fond of recruiting their order. La Salle, ready to seize all opportunities of signalizing himself, wishing even to create them, a daring and enterprising man, saw that the new governor of Canada did not think of improving the discovery that had been made. He embarked for Europe, went to the court of Versailles, where he was attended to even to admiration, as at that time both the prince and people were inspired with a passion for great actions. He returned loaded with favours, and with orders to complete what had been so fortunately begun.

HOWEVER, the better to insure success, he took care not to precipitate matters. The distance was considerable from the furthest French settlements in Canada to the banks of the river they were going to reconnoitre. Prudence required that they should secure that tract. He began, therefore, by erecting several posts, which took up more time than he imagined, on account of the works being often interrupted by unforeseen incidents. When time and circumspection had brought all things to the point wished for, he sailed down the Mississippi in 1682, and found that it ran into the gulph of Mexico, as had been before conjectured.

THIS was a great point gained. La Salle, who well knew what remained to be done, hastened back to Quebec, and went over to France, to propose the discovery of the Mississippi by sea, and the establishment of a colony, which could not fail of being a very important one. His scheme gained credit, and he obtained four ships of different rates, with about 150 men. He missed the spot by steering too far westward, and on the

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10th of January 1685, found himself in the bay of St. Bernard, distant a hundred leagues from the Mississippi. This error might have been rectified; but La Salle, who was of a haughty and unfociable disposition, had quarrelled with the commander of his little fleet, and as he did not chuse to be indebted to him for that obligation, dismissed him; besides he was prepossessed with a notion that the river he had entered could be no other than an arm of the great one which he was commissioned to reconnoitre, he imagined he could complete the undertaking by himself. But being soon undeceived, he lost sight of his mission. It is said that instead of looking for guides among the savages, who would have directed him to his destination, he chose to go nearer the Spaniards, and inform himself of the famous mines of St. Barbe. He was wholly taken up with this absurd project, when he was murdered by some of his companions, who could no longer put up with his ill-treatment, obstinacy, and unsufferable pride.

The death of the leader dispersed the associates. The villains who had murdered him, fell by each other's hand. Several incorporated with the natives. Many perished by hunger and fatigue. The Spaniards of New Mexico, alarmed at the report of this undertaking, had crossed the country, and meeting with these fugitives, took some of them, and sent them to work in the mines, where they ended their days. Those who had shut themselves up in the little fort they had erected, fell into the hands of the savages. Only seven men escaped, who embarked on the Mississippi, which they had at last discovered by land, and came to Canada. These misfortunes blotted out the remembrance of Louisiana in France.

THE attention of the ministry was again roused in 1697, by d'Yberville, a gentleman of Canada, who had distinguished himself by some exceeding bold and fortunate

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nate stroke at Hudson's bay, in Acadia and Newfoundland. He was sent out from Rochefort with two ships, and he entered the Mississippi on the 2d of July 1699. He sailed up the river high enough to be convinced by his own inspection of the beauty and fertility of its banks. He contented himself, however, with erecting a small fort, which did not long continue, and proceeded to another spot to settle his little colony, chiefly consisting of Canadians.

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BETWEEN the mouth of the Mississippi and Pensacola, a settlement newly erected by the Spaniards in Florida, is a coast of about forty leagues in extent. It is every where so flat, that trading ships cannot come within four leagues of the shore, or even the lightest brigs within two leagues. The soil, which is entirely sandy, is equally unfit for culture and the breeding of cattle. Nothing grows there but a few scattered cedars and fir trees. The climate is so exceedingly hot, when the rays of the sun have fallen upon these sands, that in some seasons the heat would be intolerable, were it not for a little breeze, which springs up regularly at nine or ten in the morning, and never falls but in the evening. In this great space, there is a place called Biloxi, from the name of a savage nation, that formerly made some stay there. This situation, the most barren and most inconvenient upon the whole coast, was made choice of, to fix the few men d'Yberville had brought thither, and who had been allured by the most sanguine expectations.

The French settle in the country that is watered by the Mississippi, and call it Louisiana.

Two years after, a fresh colony arrived, and was placed thirteen leagues to the east of Biloxi, not far from Pensacola. The banks of the Mobile, which is no where navigable but for boats, though rather a long river, were judged to be worth inhabiting. The pooriness of the grounds, was not thought a sufficient objection. It was determined that the connections they would

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would form with the Spaniards and neighbouring Indians, would compensate all these disadvantages. An island situated opposite to the Mobile, at a distance of four leagues, offered a harbour, which might be considered as the sea port of the new colony. It was named the Isle of Dauphin. It was perfectly convenient for unloading the French goods, which till then they had been obliged to send ashore in boats. This island, though a barren one, was soon peopled, and became the chief settlement of the colony; till the winds which had formed it with sands, heaped them up to such a degree in the year 1717, as to deprive it of the only advantage that had given it some kind of reputation.

It could not reasonably be expected that a colony fixed upon such a territory should make any progress. The death of d'Yberville, who perished gloriously before the Havanna in 1702, at sea in the service of his country, put an end to the small remaining hopes of the colonists. France was so deeply engaged in an unhappy war, that no assistance could be expected from that quarter. They all thought themselves totally forsaken; and those who entertained some hopes of finding a settlement elsewhere, hastened to go in quest of it. The few whom necessity compelled to stay behind, subsisted upon vegetables, or lived by excursions amongst the Indians. The colony was reduced to twenty-eight families each completely miserable, when Crosat petitioned for and obtained the exclusive trade of Louisiana in 1712.

CROSAT was one of those men, who was born for great undertakings, he possessed that superiority of talents and sentiments which enabled him to undertake the greatest actions, and condescended to the least for the service of the state, and wished to derive all his fame from the glory of his country. The soil of Louisiana

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was not the object of this active genius. He could not be ignorant of its barrenness; nor did it ever appear that he had any thoughts of attempting to improve it. His intention was to open communications both by land and sea with old and new Mexico, to pour in all kinds of merchandise into those parts, and to draw thence a vast quantity of piastres. The concession he had asked for, appeared to him to be the natural and necessary mart for his vast operations; and all the steps taken by his agents were regulated upon this noble plan. But being undeceived by several unsuccessful attempts, he relinquished his scheme, and in 1717, was glad to resign his privilege to a company whose success astonished the whole world.

THIS company was set on foot by Law, that celebrated Scotchman, of whom no settled judgment could be formed at the time he appeared, but whose name now stands between the crowd of mere adventurers and the short list of great men. This daring genius had made it his business from his infancy to observe attentively the several powers of Europe, to examine their springs, and to calculate the strength of each. He was singularly struck with the confusion into which the ambition of Lewis XIV. had thrown the kingdom of France. He thought the unravelling of this chaos was a task worthy of him, and flattered himself he could accomplish it. The very greatness of this design could not fail to recommend it to the regent, who held the reins of government, since the demise of that monarch had restored peace to Europe. The scheme was, by speedily paying off the national debt, to clear the public revenue of the enormous interests which absorbed it. The introduction of paper credit could alone effect this revolution, which the exigencies of the times seemed absolutely to require. The public creditors came into
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Louisiana becomes very famous in the time of Lewis's system.

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this novelty the more readily, as they knew they might at any time change these notes for shares in the company. The company, on the other hand, could not fail of means to answer so many engagements; since, independent of the produce of the taxes, which was to center in their hands, as being a company of finance, they had a new channel as a commercial company, through which immense riches were expected to come in.

SINCE the Spaniard Ferdinand de Soto had perished on the banks of the Mississippi, about the year 1538, an opinion had prevailed that those regions contained immense treasures. It was a matter of doubt where these riches were situated; but still the celebrated mines of St. Barbe were talked of with rapture. If they seemed for a time forgotten, it was only to make them again be attended to with the greater eagerness. Law availed himself of this credulity, and took care to feed and increase it by mysterious reports. It was rumoured as a secret that these and many other mines had at last been found out, but that they were far richer than fame had represented them. To give the greater weight to this falsehood, which had already gained too much credit, a number of workmen were sent over to work these supposed valuable mines with troops to support them.

It is inconceivable what a sudden impression this stratagem made upon a nation naturally fond of novelty. All men were possessed with an inordinate desire of having shares in the new company. Every speculation, scheme and expectation was directed to this channel. The Mississippi became the grand object and the ultimate end of all pursuits. The adventurers were not content with a bare association with the company which had obtained the disposal of that fine country. They were applied to from all quarters for large tracts of land for plan-

plantations, which, it was given out, were to yield in a few years the centuple of what should be laid out upon them. Whatever was the motive, whether interest or conviction, or flattery, those who were accounted the most sensible men in the nation, the richest and the most esteemed, were the most forward in forming these settlements. Others were drawn in by their example, and those whose fortunes would not permit them to become proprietors, made interest to have the management of the plantations, or, at least, to work in them. BOOK
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DURING the heat of this ferment, all persons who offered themselves, whether natives or foreigners, were promiscuously crowded into ships without any care. They were landed upon the sands of the Biloxi, where they perished by thousands, with want and vexation. They might have been carried up the Mississippi, and landed immediately upon the country they were to clear; but it never once occurred to the managers of the enterprize, to send proper boats for that purpose. Even after they had found that the ships coming from Europe could sail up the river, the head quarters still continued to be the grave of those sad and numerous victims that had fallen a sacrifice to a political imposture. The head quarters were not removed to new Orleans till five years after, that is, till hardly any were left of those unfortunate people who had been weak enough to quit their native country upon such uncertain prospects.

BUT at this late period, the charm was dissolved, and the mines were vanished. Nothing remained but the confusion of having been misled by chimerical notions. Louisiana shared the fate of those extraordinary men who have been too highly extolled, and are afterwards punished for this unmerited fame, by debasing them below their real worth. This enchanted country was now held

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held in execration. Its very name became a reproach. The Mississippi was the terror of free men. No recruits were to be found to send thither, but such as were taken from prisons and houses of ill fame. It became the receptacle of the lowest and most profligate persons in the kingdom.

WHAT could be expected from an edifice made up of such materials? Vicious men will neither people a country, nor work, nor fix themselves. Many of the wretches who had been transported into the savage climates went and exhibited the loathsome spectacle of their wretchedness, in the English or Spanish settlements. Others perished speedily by the poison they were tainted with before they left Europe. The greater number wandered miserably about the woods, till hunger and weariness put an end to their existence. Nothing was yet begun in the colony, though twenty-five millions of livres (1,093,750*l.*) had been sunk there. The managers of the company that advanced these enormous sums, ridiculously pretended that in the capital of France they could lay the plan of the undertakings that were fit for America. Paris, which is not even acquainted with its own provinces, which it despises and drains, wanted to submit every thing to the operations of these hasty and frivolous calculators. From the company's office, they pretended to regulate and direct every inhabitant of Louisiana, and to impose such clogs and fetters as should best turn out to the advantage of the monopoly. Had they granted some trifling encouragements to reputable settlers, who might have been allured into the colony, by securing to them that liberty which every man covets, that property which every man has a right to expect from his own labour, and that protection which is due from every society to its members: such encouragements, given to proprietors directed by

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local circumstances, and strengthened by self-interest, would have been productive of far greater and more lasting effects, more extensive, solid and profitable settlements, than any the company could ever make with all their treasures, dispensed and managed by agents who could neither have all the knowledge requisite to conduct so many various operations, nor even be actuated by any immediate interest in the success.

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YET the ministry thought it conducive to the welfare of the state, to leave the concerns of Louisiana in the hands of the company; which was under a necessity of exerting its utmost interest to obtain leave to alienate that part of its privilege. It was even obliged to purchase this favour in 1731, by paying down the sum of 1,450,000 livres; (63,437*l.*) 10*s.* for there are some states where the right of being ruined, of extricating itself from destruction, and of enriching itself, are equally purchased; because good or evil, whether public or private, may prove an object of finance. But after all, what was to become of this region, so much extolled, so much vilified, when it came to be in reality a national possession?

LOUISIANA is a vast country, bounded to the south by the sea; to the east by Carolina; to the west by New Mexico; to the north by that part of Canada whose unknown lands are supposed to extend as far as Hudson's bay. It is impossible to ascertain the exact length of it; but it is thought to be about two hundred leagues broad, between the English and Spanish settlements.

Extent,
climate,
fertility,
and original
inhabitants of
Louisiana.

In so extensive a country, the climate cannot be the same throughout. It was no where found to be such as was expected from its latitude. Lower Louisiana though in the same degree as the coast of Barbary, is no hotter than the south of France; and those parts of it that are situated

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situated in the 35th and 36th degrees, are no warmer than the northern provinces of the mother country. This phœnomenon, which seems so extraordinary to a common observer, may be accounted for by a naturalist, from the thick forests which prevent the rays of the sun from heating the ground; the numberless rivers which keep it constantly damp; and the winds which blow from the north over a vast extent of land.

THE sky is seldom clouded: the sun, which gives life to every thing, shining almost every day. It rains little, and never except in heavy showers; but plentiful dews supply the place of rain with advantage.

THE air in general is pure, but much more so in upper than in lower Louisiana. In this happy climate, the women are blessed with a pleasing figure, and the men are less subject to disorders in the vigour of life, and have fewer infirmities in old age than the Europeans.

BEFORE the nature of the soil had been tried, it must have been imagined to be excellent. It abounded with wild fruits, very pleasant to the taste. It supplied a great number of birds and wild beasts with copious subsistence. The meadows, formed by nature alone were covered with roebucks and bisons. Perhaps, there are no trees upon the earth to be compared with those of Louisiana for height, variety and thickness. If it afforded no woods for dying, it is because none will grow anywhere except between the tropics. Since the soil has been tried in several districts, it has been found to be fit for all kinds of culture.

THE head of that famous river which divides this immense country from north to south almost in two equal parts, has never yet been discovered. The boldest travellers have not gone higher up than about a hundred leagues above the fall of St. Anthony, which interrupts

its

its course by a pretty high cascade, about the 46th degree of latitude. From thence to the sea, that is, for the space of about 700 leagues, the navigation is nowhere interrupted. The Mississippi flows unobstructed into the ocean, after being enlarged by the river of the Illinois, the Missouri, the Wabache, and a great number of lesser rivers. Every thing contributes to shew that the Mississippi by the rapidity with which it flows, has enlarged and deepened its bed, to an extent of near an hundred leagues, as from it is continually washed down a mould so fine as not to have a stone in it; this the sea casts up, being first violently agitated and as it were ingendered with leaves, boughs and stumps of trees; these consolidate and become one mass, continually adding to the continent, which is not a little indebted for its increase, to this particular property of this great river. Another and still more striking singularity, which, perhaps, is nowhere else to be met with, is that the waters of this river, when once they are out of its bed, never return into it again.

THE Mississippi is annually swelled by the melting of the snows in the north, which begins in March, and continues for about three months. The river lies very deep at the upper part, and does not overflow on the east side till it comes within sixty leagues of the sea, nor on the west side till within a hundred leagues; that is to say, on the low lands which we imagine to be new ground. These muddy grounds, like all others that have not yet acquired their due consistence, bear a prodigious quantity of large reeds, which stop and entangle all extraneous bodies that are washed down the river. The collection of all these fragments, with the slime that fills up the interstices, in process of time raises the banks higher than the adjacent ground; so that the waters, once overflow-

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ed, are prevented by this obstacle from a possibility of returning into their former channels; and are, therefore, compelled to find an outlet for themselves into the sea, by gliding through the sands.

WHEN we consider only the breadth and depth of the Mississippi, we are apt to think the navigation of it not difficult; but this is a mistake. It is very tedious, even in coming down, for it would be dangerous to continue it by night in dark weather, as the light canoes made of bark, which are so convenient for expedition on other rivers, are not sufficient upon this. It requires larger boats which are consequently heavier, and not so easily managed. Without these precautions, it would be impossible to navigate this river, from the danger the boats would be in, by the number of trees that fall from its banks, or are brought into it from other rivers, whose branches and roots are concealed beneath the surface of the water. The difficulties are still greater in going up on account of the current.

AT a certain distance from land, before we enter the Mississippi, we must take care to keep clear of the floating wood that is continually coming down from Louisiana. The coast is so flat, that one can hardly see it at the distance of two leagues, and it is not easy to come at it. The river has a great many mouths, they are continually shifting, and most of them are very shallow. When a vessel has happily surmounted all these obstacles, she may sail with the utmost safety for ten or eleven leagues, through an open and sandy country. We then meet with such thick forests on each side, that they wholly intercept the winds. Such a dead calm prevails, that it commonly takes up a month to get through a space of twenty leagues; and this is not to be done but by successively fastening the cordage to some great tree. The difficulty is increased in getting beyond the forests, which

which terminates at the turn belonging to the English, by a crescent that shuts almost close. The rest of the navigation, upon such a rapid stream, and so full of currents, is performed in boats that go with oars and sails, and are forced to cross from point to point; and when they set out by break of day, have made a considerable progress, if they have only advanced five or six leagues by the close of the evening. The Europeans who have entered upon this navigation, take along with them some Indian hunters, who follow by land, and supply them with subsistence during the three months and a half that are employed in going from one extremity of the colony to the other.

THESE are the only difficulties the French have met with in forming their settlements on the vast region of Louisiana. The English, settled in the east, were too assiduously engaged in their own cultures, to neglect them for the sake of ravaging distant regions, and have seldom succeeded in seducing, even for a short time, the small wandering nations between the two colonies. The Spaniards, unfortunately for themselves, were more turbulent to the west. The desire of getting rid of a neighbour whose restless disposition might one day be prejudicial to them in New Mexico, induced them in 1720 to form the plan of a settlement far beyond the lands which till then had terminated their boundaries. The numerous caravans that were to compose this new colony, set out from Santa Fé, with all the requisites for a permanent settlement. They directed their march towards the Ozages, in order to engage them to assist in extirpating the natives of a district, who were neighbours and enemies to the Ozages, and whose territory they intended to occupy. The Spaniards accidentally missed their way, and went directly to that very nation whose ruin they were meditating: and mistaking these

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Indians for the Ozages, opened their intentions without reserve.

THE chief of the Missouri, being informed by this singular mistake of the danger that threatened him and his people, dissembled his resentment. He told them he would gladly concur in the success of their undertaking, and only desired they would allow him two days to assemble his warriors. When they were armed to the number of two thousand, they fell upon the Spaniards, whom they had amused with feasting, and dancing, and whom they found fast asleep, and massacred them all, without distinction of age or sex. The chaplain alone escaped the slaughter, and he owed his preservation to the singularity of his dress. This catastrophe having secured the tranquillity of Louisiana, on the side where it was most threatened, it could only be molested by the natives; but these were not much to be feared.

THESE savages were divided into several nations, none of them very populous, and all at enmity with each other, though separated by immense deserts. Most of them had fixed abodes, and almost all worshipped the sun. Their houses were made of nothing but leaves twisted together, and stretched upon a number of stakes. Those who did not go quite naked, were only covered with the skins of wild beasts. They lived upon the produce of hunting and fishing, upon maize, and some spontaneous fruits. Their customs were nearly the same as those of the savages of Canada, but they possessed a lesser degree of strength and courage, of quickness and sagacity; and their character was less marked. Without considering the natural causes, which might contribute to this difference, the savages of Louisiana were under the dominion of chiefs, who exercised almost an absolute authority over them.

AMONGST

AMONGST these nations, the only one that drew any kind of attention, was that of the Natches. They obeyed one man, who stiled himself the sun ; because he bore upon his breast the image of that luminary, from which he claimed his descent. The police, war, religion, all depended upon him. The whole universe could not, perhaps, have produced so complete a despot. The wife of this sun, as he was called, was invested with as much authority as himself. When any one of these enslaved savages had the misfortune to have displeased either of his masters, they would say to their guards, *Rid me of that dog*, and they were instantly obeyed. All labour was undertaken in common, and entirely for the benefit of the ruler, who distributed the produce as he thought proper. When either he or his wife died, their guards never failed to kill themselves, that they might attend and serve them in the next world. The religion of the Natches, with much the same tenets as those of other savages, had more outward ceremonies, and consequently was attended with more mischievous effects. Yet there was but one temple for the whole nation. It happened that this temple once caught fire, and the consternation was general. They tried in vain to stop the progress of the flames. Some mothers threw in their children, but however it was at length extinguished. The next day these barbarous heroines were extolled in a discourse delivered by the despotic pontiff. It is thus that his authority was maintained. It is astonishing how so poor and so savage a nation could be so cruelly enslaved. But superstition accounts for all the unreasonable actions of men. That alone could rob a nation of its liberty, which had little else to lose.

YET the country inhabited by the Natches, on the banks of the Mississippi, was pleasant and fertile. It drew the attention of the first Frenchmen who sailed up the

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river. Far from opposing their intention of settling there, the natives assisted them in it. Reciprocal and beneficial exchanges laid the foundation of a lasting friendship between the two nations. It might have proved so, had not the avidity of the Europeans weakened the connection. The strangers at first desired only to agree for the productions of the country. Afterwards, they set their own price upon them. At last they found it would be more convenient to have them for nothing. Their audacity grew to such a pitch as to drive away the old inhabitants from the lands they had cleared.

THIS tyranny provoked the savages. In vain they had recourse to intreaties, and to force. Every thing was either ineffectual or proved fatal to them. These repeated provocations at last engaged them to endeavour to stir up all the eastern nations, whose dispositions they were acquainted with ; and towards the latter end of the year 1729, they succeeded in forming an universal league, the purport of which was to assassinate all the oppressors at the same instant. As the art of writing was unknown to the confederate nations, they agreed to count a certain number of bits of wood that each was to keep. One of these was to be burnt every day, and the last was to be the signal for the massacre.

THE wife of the great chief was informed of the plot, by a son she had by a Frenchman. She mentioned it three or four times to the French commanding officer in the neighbourhood, and acquainted him with all the particulars. This intelligence was disregarded ; but she still persisted in her resolution of saving these strangers, whom love had as it were naturalized in her heart. Though she interested herself so warmly for the whole nation merely from affection to the French settled in her own town, yet she determined to save those she had
never

never seen, even at the peril of those she was acquainted with. Her dignity of wife of the sun, giving her free access to the temple, where the bits of wood were deposited, she took away one or more of them every day, at the hazard of hastening the destruction of her neighbours, since this was necessary, in order to insure the safety of the rest. Every thing happened as she expected. The Natches, on the day indicated by the signal agreed upon, not doubting but all their allies were at that instant perpetrating the same tragical scene, rose upon the French, and destroyed them; but as the bits of wood had not been stolen from the other conspirators, all remained quiet; and this circumstance alone saved the rising colony. In case of a surprize, they had nothing to oppose to so many enemies, but a few rotten pales, badly defended by a handful of undisciplined vagabonds, almost unarmed.

BUT Perrier, in whom the authority was vested, did not lose that presence of mind which courage inspires. The less he was able to resist, the more haughtiness he affected. These appearances had such an effect, that either for fear of being suspected, or in hopes of pardon, many of the conspirators joined with him to destroy the Natches. That nation was put to the sword, their houses were burnt, and no remains of them were left but the place they had formerly filled.

SOME scattered remains, however, of this unfortunate people, who happened to be at a distance from the centre of their dominions, had time to take refuge amongst the Chichasaws, the most intrepid nation in Louisiana. They had entered into the league against the French, with more warmth than the rest; their undaunted and generous spirit made the laws of hospitality, inviolable among all savages, still more sacred to them; so that no

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person dared at first to propose to them to deliver up the Natches, to whom they had afforded refuge. But Bienville, who soon after succeeded Perrier, had the boldness to demand that those fugitives should be given up. The Indians had the courage to refuse; and he immediately sent out all the troops of the colony against them in 1736. They formed two separate corps; one was repulsed with great loss before the principal fort of the Chichasaws; the other was totally defeated in the open field. A second attempt was made four years after to subdue them with fresh forces from Europe and Canada. The French arms were as unsuccessful as before, till some fortunate incidents brought on an accommodation with the Indians. Since that period, nothing has disturbed the repose of Louisiana. We shall now see to what height of prosperity this long peace has raised the colony.

What the
French
have done
in Louisia-
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THE coasts of Louisiana, which are all situated on the gulph of Mexico, are in general flat, often overflowed, and every where covered with fine sand, as white as snow, and entirely barren. They are uninhabited and uninhabitable. No forts have ever been erected there, from the impossibility of invading or making a descent upon them. The French have formed no settlements on the west side of the Mississippi. Indeed, in 1721, they had some designs on the bay of St. Barnard; but they miscarried by the neglect of the officer who was intrusted with the execution of them. Instead of obeying the orders that had been given him, he entered the river Magdalena, which he met with in his way, sailed five or six leagues up it, carried off a few savages, and returned to the place whence he came. The next year, when they attempted to correct this error, they found the port occupied by some Spaniards from Vera Crux.

To the east of the Mississippi stands fort Mobile, on the banks of the river of the same name, the course of which extends no less than one hundred and thirty leagues. It is intended as a check upon the Chactaws, the Alibamows, and some other lesser tribes, to keep them to their alliance with France, and to secure their fur trade. The Spaniards of Pensacola buy up some provisions and merchandize at this settlement.

THERE are a great number of outlets at the entrance of the Mississippi, but they are very uncertain. Many of them are often dry. Some will only admit boats and canoes. Only one of them can receive ships of five hundred tons burthen. On the channel through which they must sail, a kind of citadel is built, which is called La Balise. Twenty leagues higher up are two forts which guard both sides of the river, and defend it from all attacks. Though they are in themselves but indifferent, they would be more than sufficient to oppose the passage of an hundred ships, particularly as only one ship can enter at a time, and even that could neither cast anchor, nor come to a mooring at that place.

NEW ORLEANS is the first settlement that presents itself. It is thirty leagues distant from the sea. It was begun in 1717, but acquired no consequence till 1722, when it became the chief place of the colony. Then it was that the plan of a handsome city was traced out, which has since risen by slow degrees. The streets are all straight, and cross each other at right angles. They form sixty-five islets, each containing fifty toises square, which are divided into twelve lots of ground for as many inhabitants to build upon. The huts which formerly covered this great space are now exchanged for commodious houses mostly built with brick. They are all surrounded with canals, which communicate with each

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each other. This was thought to be a necessary precaution against the floods. This city, intended to be the centre of all the intercourse between the mother country and the colony, was built on the east side of the river. The landing is so easy that the largest ships need only make a little bridge with planks in order to unload their goods. But when the waters are out, it is necessary they should hasten their departure, on account of the quantity of wood that falls down the river at that season, which would cut the largest cables asunder.

AN almost uninterrupted line of habitations runs along both sides of the river. Below New Orleans, they extend but five leagues, and are not very considerable. Lower down, the land grows narrower, and becomes less to the sea side. Upon this slip of land, nothing is to be seen but sands and marshes not habitable by man, and only intended for water fowls and Moschetoes. The plantations upon the Mississippi, reach ten leagues above the town. The most distant have been cleared by Germans, whose indefatigable labour has erected two villages, inhabited by the most laborious men in the colony. All along these fifteen leagues of cultivated ground, the river has been imbanked, to preserve the lands from the inundations, which return regularly every spring. This bank is preserved by broad ditches cut round every field, to drain off the waters, which might otherwise overthrow this dike.

THROUGHOUT the whole space the soil is very muddy, and extremely proper for productions that require a moist situation. When they want to till the fresh ground, they first cut down the great reeds with which it is overrun. As soon as they are dry, they set fire to them. Then if the earth is but ever so lightly stirred up, it produces great plenty of rice, Indian corn, and all sorts of grain, pulse

pulse or other vegetables, that are sown upon it, except **BOOK**
wheat, which runs to grass from the too great luxuri- **II.**
ancy of the soil.

POSSIBLY the inhabitants, which are scattered along the banks of the river, might have been more judiciously placed four or five hundred paces further off, or even at the distance of half a league, upon some little eminences, which are very common near that spot. A more pure air and a solid bottom would have been found there, and, probably, wheat would have succeeded, when the woods had been cleared. Nothing would have been equal to the fertility of the grounds, if left open to the annual inundation of the river; because the waters, as they subsided, would constantly have enriched them with a fresh supply of slime, which would have greatly promoted vegetation. In process of time, nothing would have been seen on both sides of the Mississippi but extensive pastures covered with innumerable flocks and herds; a range of gardens, orchards, and plantations of rice, sufficient for a numerous population. This glorious prospect might have been carried on from New Orleans, all over lower Louisiana; and thus a second France would have appeared in America.

INSTEAD of this delightful prospect, ten leagues above New Orleans, begins an immense desert, where nothing is to be seen but two wretched towns, inhabited by savages; and this desert extends for the space of thirty leagues, after which we arrive at the spot that is called Pointe Coupée, which is the work of European industry. In this place the Mississippi formerly took a large sweep. Some Frenchmen, by digging into a rivulet that ran behind a point of land, brought the waters of the river into it. They flowed with such impetuosity into this new channel, that they completed the cutting off of the point,

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point, and by this circumstance fourteen leagues of the navigation have been saved. The old bed of the river was soon dry, and in a short time was covered with such large trees as astonished all who had seen them spring up. This happy change gave life, stability and fame to one of the best settlements in those parts.

THE inhabitants, settled on both sides of the river, have adorned their abodes with all kinds of European fruit-trees, none of which have degenerated. For their own consumption they cultivate rice and maize, and for exportation cotton, and especially tobacco. The sale of their timber is likewise a profitable article.

TWENTY leagues above the Pointe Coupée, the Red river falls into the Mississippi. The French have built a fort thirty-five leagues from the mouth of it. It was in the country of the Natfitoches that this foundation of power and commerce was laid. The plan was to convey into the colony through this channel the gold and silver of New Mexico, which had already circulated near the spot. But these hopes were frustrated by the poverty of the inhabitants, and the little intercourse they had with richer places. The only advantage reaped from that neighbourhood was that it supplied oxen, and horses which were not to be had in Louisiana. Since they have been multiplied there, so as to want no supplies from abroad, that post which was not founded upon the system of agriculture, was continually declining; and this loss is the more to be lamented, as the colony of the Natches is still more in a state of decay.

ITS situation, which is at a hundred and ten leagues from the sea, was the most favourable that D'Yberville could meet with in sailing up the river. He saw no finer spot, on which to fix the capital of the intended colony. All who viewed it after him, were equally delighted with the

the advantages it presented. The climate was healthy and temperate; the soil fit for tobacco, cotton, indigo, and every kind of culture; the ground high enough to be in no danger from the inundations; the country open, extensive, well watered, and within reach of every settlement that might be made. Its distance from the ocean was no impediment to the arrival of the ships. So fair a prospect had soon formed a colony of five hundred men, when their intolerable ambition occasioned their total destruction by the hands of the savages whom they had provoked. Those who came after to supply their place, and avenge their death, did not bring this settlement to any greater degree of prosperity, whether it was owing to negligence on their part, or to their meeting with fresh difficulties.

A HUNDRED and twenty leagues above the Natches, is the colony of the Akanfas. It would have become very considerable, if the nine thousand Germans, raised in the Palatinate with a view to form it, had arrived there safe. They were an honest and industrious people; but they all perished before they got thither. The Canadians who fixed there in coming down the river, found a delightful climate, a fruitful soil, easy circumstances and tranquillity. As they had been accustomed to live with savages, they were not averse from marrying the daughters of the Akanfas, and these alliances were attended with the happiest consequences. There never was the least coolness between the two nations, which were united by these intermarriages, though so different from each other. They have lived in that state of commerce, and that intercourse of good offices, which the fluctuating situation of affairs admitted from time to time.

THE like harmony, though in a lesser degree, subsists among the Illinois, who are three hundred leagues distant

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tant from the Akanfas; for in America the several nations are not close together as they are in Europe, and are but the more independent, both at home and abroad. They have no chiefs combined together to destroy or sacrifice them to each other's resentment, or render them so miserable, that it becomes a matter of indifference to them to which they belong. The nation of the Illinois, the most northern in Louisiana, was continually beaten, and continually in danger of being destroyed by the Iroquois and other nations from the north, when the French arrived among them from Canada. These Europeans, who were renowned for their valour in that part of the new continent, were welcomed and courted, as being able to make the best stand against an old and inveterate enemy. The strangers have multiplied, so as to stock six considerable villages, whilst the natives, who were formerly very populous, are now reduced to three towns, which do not contain above two thousand souls in all. Both have forsaken the river which gave its name to the country, in order to settle on the more pleasant and fertile banks of the Mississippi, near the place where their own river falls into it. This settlement, the fertility of which it is impossible to describe, is become the granary of the whole colony, and could furnish it with plenty of corn, if it were peopled even as far as to the sea. But it falls very short of so prosperous a state.

NEVER did Louisiana in its greatest splendour reckon more than five thousand white people, including twelve hundred men who composed the military force of the colony. This inconsiderable population was dispersed up and down the banks of the Mississippi, in an extent of five hundred leagues, and supported by two or three bad forts constructed at different distances: yet it was not made up of that refuse of Europe, which France had discharged

discharged into America, at the time when the system was established. All those wretches had perished fortunately without propagating the breed. The colonists of Louisiana were stout hearty men, come from Canada, or disbanded soldiers, who had wisely preferred the labours of agriculture to a life of idleness, the frequent consequence of pride and prejudice. Every settler received from the government, not only a piece of ground, with seed to sow it, but likewise a gun, an ax, a mattock, a cow and calf, a cock and six hens, with wholesome and plentiful provisions for three years. Some officers and a few men of substance had improved these beginnings of population by considerable plantations, which employed six thousand slaves.

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BUT the fruit of their labour was very inconsiderable. The annual exports of the colony did not exceed 200,000 crowns, (26,250*l.*) They consisted of rice, planks, maize, and pulse for the sugar islands; cotton, indigo, tobacco and furs for the mother country.

THIS establishment, which seemed intended by nature for a capital settlement, would, probably have prospered, but for the original error of granting lands indiscriminately to every person who applied for them. We should not then have seen lonely plantations some hundreds of leagues apart; such as would have been good estates in Europe, but were of no value when separated by vast deserts. Had the colonists fixed in a common centre, they might have assisted each other, and living under the same laws, have enjoyed all the advantages of a well-regulated society. As population had increased, the lands would have been cleared to a greater extent. Instead of a few tribes of savages, we should have seen a rising colony, which might in time

What the
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done in
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B O O K time have become a powerful nation, and procured
II. infinite advantages to France.

THIS kingdom, which annually imports from abroad seventeen millions weight of tobacco, would easily have been supplied with that commodity from Louisiana. Twelve or fifteen thousand men, skilled in the cultivation of it, would have provided this branch of consumption for the whole kingdom. Such were the hopes the government entertained, when they ordered all the tobacco plantations in Guinea to be destroyed: convinced that the lands in that province were adapted to more important and richer cultures, and would produce necessary articles of greater consequence, they thought it would be for the benefit both of the mother country and the colony, to secure to Louisiana, then in its infant state, a market for that commodity, which would more easily succeed and bring in greater returns, as it required less time, experience and expence. When Law, the projector of this undertaking, fell into discredit, his most rational schemes were laid aside, and shared the same fate as those which were merely the offspring of a disordered imagination. The farmers of the revenue, who were gainers by this mistake, omitted nothing to encourage it; every well-wisher of his country must be allowed to say, that this is not one of the least mischiefs, that finance has done the state.

THE wealth which tobacco would have brought to the colony, would have shown the utility and value of the spacious and beautiful meadows with which that country abounds. They would soon have been covered with cattle; their hides would have supplied the mother country with leather, without importing any from abroad, and their flesh prepared and salted would have been disposed of in the islands, instead

stead of Irish beef. Horses and mules, multiplying in the same proportion as the horned cattle, would have freed the French colonies from the dependence they have always been in upon the English and Spaniards for this necessary article.

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WHEN once they had begun, they would have proceeded from one branch of industry to another. They could not have avoided building ships, as they had the materials at hand. The country was covered with wood fit for the hull, and the fir-trees that grew in great plenty along the coast, would have afforded masts and tar. There was no want of oak for the planks, and if there had, it might have been supplied by cypress, which is less apt to split, to bend or to break, and a little additional thickness might have compensated for the want of strength and hardness. They might have grown hemp for the sails and rigging. Nothing, perhaps, need have been imported but iron; and it is even more than probable that there are iron mines in Louisiana. It is likely that the government, encouraged by the success of individuals, would soon have erected docks for ship-building, and storehouses ready for equipping and fitting out fleets in America.

THE forests being felled for these purposes without any expence, and even with profit, the ground would have been laid open for corn, cotton, indigo, flax, or olive trees; and even silk might have been successfully undertaken, when once the colony had been sufficiently populous to attend to the culture of the mulberry tree, which has been found to thrive very well in this mild climate. In short they might have made any thing of a possession where the air is temperate, the ground even, fresh, and fertile, and which had not as yet been properly inhabited, but rather run over by a parcel of unsteady and unskilful vagabonds.

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HAD Louisiana been brought to that degree of perfection it was capable of, its entrance would soon have been made more accessible and more convenient; which might have been effected without any great expence by a constant attention. For this purpose it would have been sufficient to have stopped up all those useless passes, which are rather a hindrance than a help to navigation, and this might have been done with the floating trees that the river washes down. The whole force of the stream being thus confined to one channel, the river would have become deeper at its mouth, and, probably, the bar which almost shuts it up would have been removed. Then the largest ships might have sailed into the Mississippi with more ease and safety than the smallest do at present. After this, those thick forests that intercept the wind might have been felled, and the navigation up the river to New Orleans rendered less tedious. All the arts and advantages of every kind would have sprung up in a regular succession, to form a flourishing and vigorous colony in that spacious plain.

France
cedes Loui-
siana to the
Spaniards.
Whether
she had a
right to do
this?

BUT France overlooked all these advantages when she ceded that country, which alone could repair her former losses, and gave it up to Spain, to whom it could be nothing more than a burthen. It may, perhaps, for a long time remain a political problem, whether this cession was not alike detrimental to both crowns, who were both equally weakened by it; the one, in giving up what she ought to have retained, and the other in accepting what she could not keep. But in a moral light, may it not be considered as an illegal act thus to have sold or given away the members of the community to a foreign power? For what right has a prince to dispose of his subjects without their consent?

WHAT

WHAT becomes of the rights of the people, if all is due from the nation to the prince, and nothing from the prince to the nation? Are there then no rights but those of princes? These pretend to derive their power from God alone. This maxim is a contrivance of the clergy, who set kings above the people, only that they themselves may command even kings in the name of the Deity, and is no more than an iron chain, to bind a whole nation under the power of one man. It is no longer then a mutual tie of love and virtue, of interest and fidelity, that gives to one family the rule in the midst of a society.

BUT why should authority wish to conceal its being derived from men? Kings are sufficiently informed by nature, experience, history, and their own consciousness, that it is of the people they hold all they possess, whether conquered by arms, or acquired by treaty. As they receive from the people all the fruits of obedience, why should they refuse to accept from them all the rights of authority? Nothing is to be apprehended from voluntary submission, nor is any thing to be obtained by the abuse of usurped power. It can only be supported by violence; and how can a prince be happy who commands only by force, and is obeyed only through fear? He cannot sit easy upon his throne, when he cannot reign without asserting that he holds his crown from God alone. Every man may more truly affirm, that he holds from God his life, his liberty, the unalienable right of being governed only by reason and justice. The welfare then and security of the people is the supreme law on which all others depend. This is, undoubtedly, the real fundamental law of all society. It is by this we must interpret every particular law which must be derived from this principle, and serve to explain and support it.

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IF we apply this rule to the treaties of division and cession which kings make between themselves, will it appear that they have the right of buying, selling or exchanging their subjects without their consent? Shall princes then arrogate to themselves the barbarous right of alienating or mortgaging their provinces and their subjects as they would their effects or estates; while the supplies granted for the support of their house, the forests of their domain, the jewels of their crown, are all sacred unalienable effects, which we must never have recourse to, even in the most pressing exigences of the state?—Methinks I hear the voice of a numerous colony exclaiming from America, and addressing the mother country in the following terms.

“What have I done to thee, that thou shouldst deliver me up into the hands of a stranger? Did I not spring from thy loins? Have I not sown, planted, cultivated, and reaped for thee alone? When thy ships conveyed me to these shores, so different from thy own happy climate, didst thou not engage for ever to protect me with thy fleets and armies? Have I not fought in support of thy rights, and defended the country thou gavest me? After having fertilized it by my labour, have I not maintained it for thee at the expence of my blood? Thy children were my parents or my brethren; thy laws my boast, and thy name my pride: that name which I have striven to render illustrious among nations to whom it was unknown. I have procured thee friends and allies among the savages. I flattered myself with the thought that I might one day come in competition with thy rivals, and be the terror of thy enemies. But thou hast forsaken me. Thou hast bound me without my consent by a treaty, the very concealment of which
“ was

" was a treachery. Unfeeling, ungrateful parent, how
 " couldst thou break, in opposition to the dictates of
 " nature, the ties by which I was attached to thee,
 " even from my birth? While with incessant and pain-
 " ful toil I was restoring to thee the tribute of nou-
 " rishment and subsistence I had received from thee,
 " I wished for no other comfort than that of living and
 " dying under thy law. That comfort thou hast re-
 " fused me. Thou hast torn me from my family to
 " deliver me up to a master whom I had not approved.
 " Restore my parent to me; restore me to him whose
 " name I have been used to call upon from my earliest
 " infancy. It is in thy power to make me submit
 " against my will to a yoke which I abhor; but this
 " submission will only be temporary. I shall languish,
 " and perish with grief and weakness; or if I should
 " recover life and vigour, it will be only to withdraw
 " myself from connections I detest; though I should
 " even be compelled to deliver myself up to thy ene-
 " mies?"

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II.

LOUISIANA being in reality oppressed by her new
 masters, was desirous of shaking off a yoke which she
 had abhorred even before it had been imposed; but be-
 ing rejected by France when she endeavoured to put
 herself again under her protection, she returned under
 the dominion of the same power from whose chains she
 had attempted to free herself. The cruelties she has
 experienced from the resentment of an incensed go-
 vernment, have served only to increase a hatred already
 too inveterate to be forgotten. With such dispositions,
 the colony can scarce flatter itself to attain any degree
 of prosperity. Though Canada has also changed its
 mother country, it will not meet with the same obsta-
 cles to its improvement.

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State of
Canada at
the peace
of Utrecht.

At the peace of Utrecht, this vast country was in a state of weakness and misery not to be conceived. This was owing to the French who came there first, and who rather threw themselves into this country, than settled upon it. Most of them had done nothing more than run about the woods; the more reasonable among them had attempted some cultures, but without choice or plan. A piece of ground, hastily tilled and built upon, was as hastily forsaken. However, the expences the government was at, together with the profits of the fur trade, at times afforded the inhabitants a comfortable subsistence; but a series of unfortunate wars soon deprived them of these enjoyments. In 1714, the exports from Canada did not exceed a hundred thousand crowns, (13,125*l.*) This sum, added to 350,000 livres, (15,312*l.* 10*s.*) which the government sent over every year, was all the colony had to depend upon, for the payment of the goods they received from Europe. And indeed these were so few, that most people were reduced to wear skins like the Indians. Such was the deplorable situation of the far greater part of twenty thousand French inhabitants, who were supposed to be in these immense regions.

Populati-
on, agri-
culture,
manners,
govern-
ment,
fisheries,
industry,
and reve-
nues of
Canada.

THE happy spirit which at that time animated the several parts of the world, roused Canada from the languid state in which it had so long been plunged. It appears from the estimates taken in 1753 and 1758, which were nearly equal, that the population amounted to 91,000 souls, exclusive of the regular troops, whose numbers varied according to the different exigencies of the colony.

THIS calculation did not include the many allies dispersed throughout an extent of 1200 leagues in length, and of considerable breadth, nor yet the 16,000 Indians who

who dwelt in the centre of the French settlements, or in their neighbourhood. None of these were ever considered as subjects, though they lived in the midst of a great European colony: the smallest clans still preserved their independence. All men talk of liberty, but the savage alone enjoys it. Not only the whole nation, but every individual is truly free. The consciousness of his independence operates upon all his thoughts and actions. He would enter the palace of an Asiatic monarch, just as he would come into a peasant's cottage, and neither be dazzled with his splendor, nor awed by his power. It is his own species, it is mankind, it is his equal that he loves and respects, but he would hate a master and destroy him.

PART of the French colony was centered in three cities. Quebec, the capital of Canada, is 1500 leagues distant from France, and 120 leagues from the sea. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on a peninsula, made by the river St. Lawrence, and the river St. Charles, and commands a prospect over extensive fields, which serve to enrich it, and a very safe road that will admit upwards of two hundred ships. It is three miles in circumference. Two thirds of this circuit are defended by the water and the rocks, which are a better security than the fortifications erected on the ramparts that cut the peninsula. The houses are tolerably well constructed. The inhabitants were computed at about 10,000 souls at the beginning of the year 1759. It was the centre of commerce, and the seat of government.

THE city of the Trois Rivieres, built ten years later than Quebec, and situated thirty leagues higher, was raised with a view of encouraging the trade with the northern Indians. But this settlement, though brilliant at first, never attained to more than 1500 inhabitants,

BOOK II. for the fur trade was soon diverted from that mart, and carried entirely to Montreal.

MONTREAL is an island, ten leagues long and four broad, almost, formed by the river St. Lawrence, sixty leagues above Quebec. Of all the adjacent country, this is the mildest, the most pleasant, and the most fruitful spot. A few scattered huts, erected by chance in 1640, advanced to a regular built town, which contained four thousand inhabitants. At first it lay exposed to the insults of the savages, but was afterwards inclosed with slight pallisades, and then with a wall, about fifteen feet high, topped with battlements. It fell to decay, when the inroads of the Iroquois obliged the French to erect forts higher up the country, to secure the fur trade.

THE other colonies, who were not comprised within the walls of these three cities, did not live in towns, but were scattered along the banks of the river St. Lawrence. None were to be seen near the mouth of that river, where the soil is rugged and barren, and where no corn will ripen. The first settlements to the south, were at the distance of fifty leagues, and to the north, twenty below Quebec; they were but thinly scattered, and their produce indifferent. The truly fertile fields began only near the capital, and they grew better as one drew nearer to Montreal. Nothing can be more beautiful to the eye than the rich borders of that long and broad canal. Woods scattered here and there which decorated the tops of the grassy mountains, rich pasturage covered with flocks, fields crowned with ripening corn, small streams of water flowing down to the river, churches and castles seen at intervals through the trees, all exhibiting a succession of the most enchanting prospects. These would have been still more delightful, if the edict of 1745 had been observed, which forbade the colonist from dividing his plantations, unless they were

an acre and a half in front, and thirty or forty acres in depth. Indolent heirs would not then have torn in pieces the inheritance of their fathers. They would have been compelled to form new plantations; and vast tracts of fallow land would no longer have separated rich and cultivated plains.

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NATURE herself directed the labours of the husbandman, and taught him to avoid watery and sandy grounds, and all those where the pine, the fir tree and the cedar grew solitary; but wherever he found a soil covered with maple, oak, beach, hornbeam and small cherry trees, there he might reasonably expect an increase of twenty to one in his wheat, and thirty to one in Indian corn, without the trouble of manuring.

ALL the plantations, though of different dimensions, were sufficient for the wants of their respective owners. There were few of them that did not yield maize, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, pulse, and pot herbs in great plenty, and excellent in their kind.

MOST of the inhabitants had a score of sheep whose wool was very valuable to them, ten or a dozen milch cows, and five or six oxen for the plough. The cattle was small, but their flesh was excellent, and these people lived much better than our country people do in Europe.

WITH this kind of affluence, they could afford to keep a good number of horses. They were not fine, indeed, but able to go through a great deal of hard work, and to run a prodigious way upon the snow. They were so fond of multiplying them in the colony, that in winter time they would lavish on them the corn that they themselves regretted at another season.

SUCH was the situation of the 83,000 French, dispersed or collected on the banks of the river St. Lawrence. Above the head of the river, and in what is called the

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the upper country, were 8000 other inhabitants, who attended more to hunting and traffic than to husbandry.

THEIR first settlement was Catarakui, or fort Frontenac, built in 1671 at the entrance of the lake Ontario, to stop the inroads of the English and Iroquois. The bay of this place served as a harbour for the men of war and trading vessels belonging to this great lake, which might with more propriety be called a sea, and where storms are almost as frequent and as dreadful as on the ocean.

BETWEEN the lakes Ontario and Erie, which both measures 300 leagues in circumference, lies a continent of fourteen leagues. This land is intersected towards the middle by the famous fall of Niagara, which from its height, breadth and shape, and from the quantity and impetuosity of its waters, is justly accounted the most wonderful cataraet in the world. It was above this grand and awful water-fall, that France had erected fortifications, with a design to prevent the Indians from carrying their furs to the rival nation.

BEYOND the lake Erie is an extent of land, distinguished by the name of the Streight, which exceeds all Canada for the mildness of the climate, the beauty and variety of the prospects, the richness of the soil, and the profusion of game and fish. Nature has been lavish of her sweets to enrich this delightful spot. But this was not the motive that determined the French to settle there in the beginning of the present century. It was the vicinity of several Indian nations who could supply them abundantly with furs; and, indeed, this trade increased with considerable rapidity.

THE success of this new settlement proved fatal to the post of Michillimakinach, a hundred leagues further, between the lake Michigan, the lake Huron, and the

the lake Superior, which are all three navigable. The greatest part of the trade which used to be carried on there with the natives, was transferred to the Streight, and there it fixed.

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BESIDES the forts already mentioned, there are some of lesser note, in different parts of the country, constructed upon rivers, or at the openings between the mountains. The first sentiment self-preservation inspires, is a diffidence of its security, so that a state of attack as well as defence, is an early object of a settlement for its security. Each of these forts was manned with a garrison, which defended the French who were settled in the neighbourhood. All together made up 8000 souls, who inhabited the upper country.

THE manners of the French colonists settled in Canada were not always answerable to the climate they inhabited. Those that lived in the country, spent their winter in idleness, gravely sitting by their fire side. When the return of spring called them out to the indispensable labours of the field, they ploughed the ground superficially without ever manuring it, sowed it carelessly, and then sunk again into their former indolence till harvest time. The people were too proud or too lazy to work for hire, so that every family was obliged to gather in their own crops; and nothing was to be seen of that sprightly joy, which on a fine summer's day enlivens the reapers, whilst they are gathering in their rich harvest. Those of the Canadians never went beyond a small parcel of corn of each kind, a little hay and tobacco, a few cyder-apples, cabbage and onions. This was the whole produce of a plantation in that country.

THIS amazing negligence might be owing to several causes. The excessive cold in winter, which froze up the rivers, in a manner locked up and benumbed the faculties of men. They contracted such a habit of idleness

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nefs during the continuance of the fevere weather, for eight months fucceffively, that labour appeared an intolerable hardship, even in the fineft weather. The numerous festivals of their religion were another hindrance to their induftry. Men are ready enough to praftife that kind of devotion which exempts them from labour. Laftly, their paffion for arms, which had been purpofely encouraged amongst courageous and daring Savages, made them defpife the labours of husbandry, however they were indebted to it for their daily-bread. Their minds were fo entirely abforbed in military glory, that they were fond of nothing but war, though they engaged in it without pay.

THE inhabitants of the cities, efpecially of the capital, lived both in winter and fummer, in a conftant round of diffipation. They were alike infenfible to the beauties of nature, and to the pleasures of imagination; they had no tafte for arts or fciences, for reading or inftruction. Their only paffion was amufement, and perfons of all ages were fond of dancing at afsemblies. This way of life confiderably increafed the influence of the ladies, who were poffeffed of every attraction, except thofe foft emotions of the foul, which alone conftitute the merit and the charm of beauty. Lively, gay, coquets, and addicted to gallantry, they were more gratified with infpiring than feeling the tender paffions. In both fexes might be obferved a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, a higher fense of honour than of real honefty. Superftition took place of morality, as it does whenever men are taught to believe that ceremonies will compensate for good works, and that crimes are expiated by prayers.

IDLENESS, prejudice and levity would never have attained fuch an afcendant in Canada, had the government been careful to employ the minds of the people upon

upon solid and profitable objects. But all the colonists were required to pay an implicit obedience to a mere military authority. They were unacquainted with the slow and sure process of the laws. The will of the chief, or of his delegates, was an oracle, which they were not even at liberty to interpret, an awful decree, to which they were to submit without examination. Delays, representations, excuses of honour, were so many crimes in the eyes of a despotic ruler, who had usurped a power of punishing or absolving by his bare word. He held in his own hands all favours and penalties, rewards and punishments; the right of imprisoning without the shadow of a crime, and the still more formidable right of enforcing a reverence for his decrees as so many acts of justice, though they were but the irregular sallies of his own caprice.

IN early times, this unlimited power was not confined to matters relative to military discipline and political administration, but was extended even to civil jurisdiction. The governor decided arbitrarily and without appeal upon all differences arising between the colonists. These contests were fortunately very rare, in a country where all things were almost, as it were, in common. This dangerous authority subsisted till 1663, at which period a tribunal was erected in the capital, for the definitive trial of all causes depending throughout the colony. The custom of Paris, modified suitably to local combinations, formed the code of their laws.

THIS code was not mutilated or disfigured by a mixture of revenue laws. The Comptroller of the finances in Canada, only exacted a few fines of alienation; a trifling contribution from the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal towards keeping up the fortifications; and some duties upon all goods imported and exported, which,
indeed,

B O O K indeed, were too high. In 1747, all these several articles brought no more than 260,200 livres (11,383*l.* 15*s.*)
 II. into the treasury.

THE lands were not taxed by the government, nor did they enjoy an entire exemption. A great mistake was made at the first settling of the colony, in granting to officers and gentlemen a piece of land, from two to four leagues in front, and unlimited in breadth. These great proprietors, who were men of moderate fortunes, and unskilled in agriculture, were unable to manage such vast estates, and were, therefore, under a necessity of making over their lands to soldiers and planters upon condition they should pay them a kind of ground-rent or homage for ever. This was introducing into America something very like the feudal government, which was so long fatal in Europe. The lord ceded ninety acres to each of his vassals, who on their part engaged to work in his mill, to pay him annually one or two sols per acre, and a bushel and a half of corn for the entire grant. This tax, though but a small one, maintained a great number of idle people, at the expence of the only class with which a colony ought to have been peopled. The true inhabitants, the laborious men, found the burthen of maintaining an annuitant nobility increased, by the additional exactions of the clergy. In 1667, tithes were imposed. They were, indeed, reduced to a twenty-sixth part of the crops, notwithstanding the clamours of that rapacious body; but still this was an oppression, in a country where the clergy had a property allotted them, which was sufficient for their maintenance.

So many impediments thrown in the way of agriculture, disabled the colony to pay for the necessaries that came from the mother country. The French ministry were at last so fully convinced of this truth, that after
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having always obstinately opposed the establishment of manufactories in America, they thought it their interest even to promote them in 1706. But these too tardy encouragements had very little effect, and the united industry of the colonists could never produce more than a few coarse linens, and some very bad woollen stuffs.

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THE fisheries were not much more inviting than the manufactories. The only one that could be an object of exportation, was that of the seal. This animal has been ranked in the class of fish, notwithstanding he is not deprived of voice, is always whelped on land, and lives more on dry ground than in the water. His head is somewhat like that of a mastiff. He has four paws which are very short, especially the hinder, which serve him rather to crawl than to walk upon. They are shaped like fins, but the fore feet have claws. His skin is hard, and covered with short hair. He is born white, but turns sandy or black, as he grows up. Sometimes he is of all the three colours.

THERE are two distinct sorts of seals. The larger will sometimes weigh not less than two thousand weight, and seem to have a sharper snout than the others. The small ones, whose skin is commonly mottled, are brisker, and more dextrous at extricating themselves out of the snares that are laid for them. The Indians have the art of taming them so far as to make them follow them.

It is upon the rocks that they couple, and that the dams lay their young, and sometimes upon the ice. They commonly bear two, and they often suckle them in the water, but more frequently on land. When they want to teach them to swim, it is said they carry them upon their backs, drop them now and then into the water, then take them up again, and proceed in this manner

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ner till they are strong enough to swim of themselves. Most little birds flutter about from spray to spray, before they venture to fly abroad; the eagle carries her young, to train them up to encounter the boisterous winds; it is not therefore surprising, that the seal born on land, should exercise her little ones in living on water.

THE manner of fishing for these amphibious animals is very simple. Their custom is, when they are out at sea, to enter into the creeks with the tide. As soon as some place is discovered where they resort in shoals, they surround it with nets and stakes, only taking care to leave a little opening for them to get in. At high water this opening is stopped up, and when the tide is gone down, the prey remains on dry ground, when there is nothing more to be done but to knock them in the head. Sometimes the fishermen get into a canoe, and follow them to their lurking places, where they fire upon them the moment they put their heads out of the water to take in air. If they are only wounded, they are easily caught; if they are killed, they sink directly, but are brought out by great dogs, that are trained to dive for them seven or eight fathom under water.

THE skin of the seal was formerly used for muffs, but afterwards to cover trunks, and to make shoes and boots. When it is well tanned, the grain is not unlike that of morocco leather. If on the one hand it is not quite so fine, on the other, it keeps longer.

THE flesh of the seal is generally allowed to be good, but it turns to better account if it is boiled down to oil. For this purpose, it is sufficient to set it on the fire in a copper or earthen vessel. Frequently nothing more is done than to spread the fat upon large squares made of boards, where it melts of itself, and the oil runs off through an opening made for that purpose. It keeps clear

clear for a long time, has no bad smell, and does not gather dross. It is used for burning, and for dressing of leather. BOOK II.

FIVE or six small ships were fitted out yearly from Canada for the seal fishery in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and one or two of lesser burden for the Caribbee islands. They received from the islands nine or ten vessels laden with rum, molasses, coffee and sugar; and from France about thirty ships, whose lading together might amount to nine thousand tons.

In the interval between the two last wars, which was the most flourishing period of the colony, the exports did not exceed 1,200,000 livres (52,500*l.*) in furs, 800,000 (35,000*l.*) in beaver, 250,000 (10,937*l.* 10*s.*) in seal oil, the same in flour and peas, and 150,000 livres (6,562*l.* 10*s.*) in wood of all kinds. These several articles put together, amounted to no more a year than 2,650,000 livres (115,937*l.* 10*s.*) a sum insufficient to pay for the commodities they draw from the mother country, but the deficiency is made good by Government.

WHEN the French were in possession of Canada, they had very little money. The little that was brought in from time to time by the new settlers, did not stay long in the country, for the necessities of the colony sent it away again. This was a great obstacle to the progress of commerce and agriculture. In 1670, the court of Versailles coined a particular sort of money for the use of the French settlements in America, and set a nominal value upon it, a fourth part above the value of the current coin of the mother country. But this expedient was not productive of the advantages that were expected, at least with regard to New France. They therefore, contrived to substitute paper currency for metal, for the payment of the troops, and other expences of government. This continued till

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the year 1713, when they were no longer true to the engagements they had entered into with the administrators of the colony. The bills of exchange they drew upon the treasury of the mother country were not honoured, and from that time fell into discredit. They were at last paid off in 1720, but with the loss of five-eighths.

This event occasioned the use of money to be resumed in Canada; but this expedient lasted only two years. The merchants found it troublesome, chargeable and hazardous to send money to France, as did all the colonies who had any remittances to make; so that they were the first to solicit the re-establishment of paper currency. This money consisted of cards, on which were stamped the arms of France and Navarre, and they were signed by the governor, the intendant and the comptroller. They were of twenty-four in number (1*l.* 1*s.*) twelve, (10*s.* 6*d.*) six, (5*s.* 3*d.*) and three livres; (2*s.* 1*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$) and of thirty, (1*s.* 3*d.* three farthings.) fifteen, (7*d.* 7-8ths.) and seven sols and a half, (3*d.* three farthings.) The value of the whole number that was made out, did not exceed a million of livres, (43,750*l.*) When this sum was not sufficient for the demands of the public, the deficiency was made up by orders signed only by the intendant. This was the first grievance; but another and more scandalous soon followed, by rendering their number unlimited. The smallest were of twenty sols, (10*d.* halfpenny.) and the highest of an hundred livres, (4*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) These different papers circulated through the colony, and supplied the want of cash until the month of October. This was the latest season for ships to depart from Canada, when all this paper-currency was turned into bills of exchange payable in France by the government, which was supposed

posed to have made use of the value. But they were so multiplied by the year 1754, that the Royal treasury could no longer answer such large demands, and was obliged to protract their payment. An unfortunate war that broke out two years after, so increased their number, that at last they were prohibited. This presently raised the price of all commodities to an immoderate degree; on account of the enormous expences of the war, and as government was the great consumer, the deficiency occasioned by it, was to be made good by her, as well as the credit of the discarded bills. In 1759, the ministry were obliged to stop payment of the Canada bills, till their origin and their real value could be traced. They amounted to an alarming number.

THE annual expences of government for Canada, which in 1729 did not exceed 400,000 livres, (17,500*l.*) and before 1749 never exceeded 1,700,000, (74,375*l.*) were most unlimited after that period. The year 1750 it came to 2,100,000; (91,875*l.*) the year 1751, 2,700,000; (118,125*l.*) the year 1752, 4,090,000; (178,937*l.* 10*s.*) the year 1753, 5,300,000; (231,875*l.*) the year 1754, 4,450,000; (194,687*l.* 10*s.*) the year 1755, 6,100,000; (266,875*l.*) the year 1756, 11,300,000; (494,375*l.*) the year 1757, 19,250,000; (842,187*l.*) the year 1758, 27,900,000; (1,220,625*l.*) the year 1759, 26,000,000; (1,137,500*l.*) the first eight months of the year 1760, 13,500,000. (590,625*l.*) Of these prodigious sums, ninety millions (3,500,300*l.*) were owing at the peace.

THIS dishonest debt was traced up to its origin, and the enormities that had given rise to it were inquired into, as far as the distance of time and place would allow. The greatest delinquents, who were become so in consequence of the unlimited power and credit given

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them by the government, were by law condemned to make considerable restitutions, but still too moderate. The claims of private creditors were all discussed. Fortunately for them and for the nation, the ministry intrusted with this important and necessary business, was composed of men of known integrity, who were not to be intimidated by the threats of power, nor bribed by the most advantageous offers; who could not be imposed upon by artifice, or wearied out by difficulties. By steadily and impartially holding an even balance between the interest of the public and the rights of individuals, they reduced the sum total of the debts to thirty-eight millions. (1,662,000*l.*)

Advantages which France might have derived from Canada. Errors which have deprived her of them.

FRANCE was alone to blame that Canada was not worth the immense sums that were bestowed upon her. It had long since appeared that this vast region was every where capable of yielding prodigious crops, yet no more was cultivated than what was barely sufficient for the sustenance of its inhabitants. With moderate labour they might have raised corn sufficient to supply all the American islands, and even some parts of Europe. It is well known that in 1751, the colony sent over two cargoes of wheat to Marseilles, which proved very good, and sold well. This exportation ought to have been encouraged, the more as the crops are liable but to few accidents in that country, where the corn is sown in May, and gathered in before the end of August.

If husbandry had been encouraged and extended, the breed of cattle would have been increased. They have so much pasture ground, and such plenty of acorns, that the colonies might easily have bred oxen and hogs, sufficient to supply the French islands with beef and pork, without having recourse to Ireland. Possibly,

Possibly, they might in time have increased so much BOOK
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as to be able to victual the ships of the mother country.

THEIR sheep would have been no less advantageous to France. They were easily bred in Canada, where the dams commonly bear twins; and if they did not multiply faster, it was owing to the ewes being left with the ram at all seasons; which occasioned their bringing forth their young in February, a season so unfavourable, that in order to preserve them, they were obliged to feed the dams with corn, this at length became so expensive as to discourage the undertaking; but this might have been prevented by a law to oblige all farmers to keep the ram separate from the ewes from September to February. The lambs dropped in May would have been reared without any expence or hazard, and in a short time the colony would have been covered with very numerous flocks. Their wool, which is known to be very fine and good, would have supplied the manufactures of France, instead of that which they import from Andalusia and Castile. The state would have been enriched by this valuable commodity; and in return, the colony would have received a thousand new and desirable articles from the mother country.

THE plant called Gin-seng would have been a great acquisition to both. This cordial and great restorative, is much esteemed by the Chinese who procure it, from the Corea, or from Tartary, where it is sold at its weight in gold; in the year 1720, the Jesuit Lafitau, found it in the forests of Canada, where it was very common. It was soon carried to Canton, where it was much esteemed, and sold at an extravagant price. The Gin-seng, which at first sold at Quebec for thirty or forty sols (about 1s. 6d. on an average.) a pound, immediately rose to twenty-five livres. (1l. 1s. 10d. halfpenny.) In 1751, the Canadians exported this

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plant to the value of 500,000 livres. (21,875*l*.) There was such a demand for it, that they were tempted to gather in May what ought not to have been gathered till September, and to dry in the oven what should have been dried gradually in the shade. This spoiled the sale of the Gin-seng of Canada in the only country in the world where it could find a market; and the colony were severely punished for their excessive rapaciousness, by the total loss of a branch of commerce, which, if but rightly managed, might have proved a source of opulence.

ANOTHER and a surer source for the encouragement of industry, was the working of the iron mines which abound in those parts. The only one that has ever attracted the notice of the Europeans, lies near the town of the Trois Rivières. It was discovered near the surface of the earth; there are no mines that yield more, and the best in Spain are not superior to it for the pliability of the metal. A smith from Europe, who came thither in 1739, greatly improved the working of this mine, which till then had been but unskilfully managed. From that time no other iron was used in the colony. They even exported some samples; but France would not be convinced that this iron was the best for fire-arms. The design of using this iron would have been very favourable to the project which, after much irresolution had at last been adopted, of forming a marine establishment in Canada.

THE first Europeans who landed in that vast region, found it covered with forests. The principal trees were oaks of a prodigious height, and pines of all sizes. This timber might have been conveyed down the river St. Lawrence, and the other rivers that discharge into it. By an unaccountable fatality, all these treasures were overlooked or despised. At last
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the court of Versailles thought proper to attend to them. BOOK
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They gave orders for erecting docks at Quebec for building men of war, but unfortunately trusted the business to agents, who had nothing in view but their own private interest.

THE timber should have been felled upon the hills, where the cold air hardens the wood by contracting its fibres; whereas it was constantly brought from marshy grounds, and from the banks of rivers, where the moisture gives it a looser texture, and makes it too rich. Instead of conveying it in barges, they floated it down in rafts to the place of destination, where being neglected and left in the water, it gathered a kind of moss that rotted it. It ought to have been put under sheds as soon as landed, but it was left exposed to the sun in summer, to the snows in winter, and to the rains in spring and autumn. Hence it was conveyed into the dock yards, where it again was exposed to the inclemency of the seasons for two or three years more. Negligence or dishonesty enhanced the price of every article to such a degree, that they brought their sails, ropes, pitch and tar from Europe, into a country which, with a little industry, might have supplied the whole kingdom of France with all these materials. This bad management had totally brought the wood of Canada into disrepute, and effectually ruined the resources which that country afforded for the navy.

THE colony furnished the mother country with an article for her manufactures, in which they could not be rivalled by any other state, which was the fur of the beaver. This commodity at first was subjected to the burden and restraints of a monopoly. The India company could not but make an ill use of their privilege, and they really did so. What they bought of the Indians was chiefly paid for in English scarlet cloths,

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which those people were very fond of appearing in. But as the Indians could make twenty-five or thirty per cent. more of their beaver skins in the English settlements than the company chose to give, they carried thither all they could conceal from the search of the company's agents, and exchanged them for English cloth and India calico. Thus did France, by the abuse of an institution which she was by no means obliged to support, lose the double advantage of furnishing materials for some of her own manufactures, and of securing a market for the produce of some others. She was equally ignorant with regard to the facility of establishing a whale fishery in Canada.

THE chief sources of this fishery are Davis's Streights and Greenland. Fifty ships came every year into the former of these latitudes, and an hundred and fifty into the latter. The Dutch are concerned for more than three fourths of them. The rest were fitted out from Bremen, Hamburgh and England. It is computed that the whole expence of fitting out 200 ships, of 350 tons burden upon an average, must amount to 10,000,000 livres. (437,500*l.*) The usual produce of each is rated at 80,000 livres. (3,500*l.*) and consequently the whole amount of the fishery cannot be less than 3,200,000 livres. (140,000*l.*) If we deduct from this the expence of the seamen who devote themselves to this hard and dangerous voyage, very little remains for the merchants concerned in this trade.

THIS is what has gradually disgusted the Biscayans, who were the first adventurers in the undertaking. They have not been succeeded by other Frenchmen, insomuch that the whole fishery has been totally thrown up by that nation, which of all others made the greatest consumption of blubber, whalebone and Spermaceti. Many proposals have been made for resuming it in

in Canada, as there was the finest prospect of establishing it in the river St. Lawrence, attended with less danger and less expence than in Davis's Streights or at Greenland. It has ever been the fate of this colony, that the best schemes respecting it have never been brought to perfection; and in particular this, of a whale fishery, which would have more particularly roused the activity of the colonists, and proved an excellent nursery for seamen, never met with the countenance of government.

THE same remissness has baffled the scheme, so often planned, and two or three times attempted, of fishing for cod on both sides of the river St. Lawrence. Very possibly the success would not have fully answered their expectation, as the fish is but indifferent, and proper beaches are wanting to dry it. But the gulph would have made ample amends for this defect. It abounds with cod, which might have been carried to Newfoundland or Louisbourg, and advantageously bartered for the productions of the Caribbee islands and European commodities. Every thing conspired to promote the prosperity of the settlements in Canada, if they had been committed to the care of persons interested in them; but the contrary was pursued, which occasioned that inaction, which suffered them to languish in the same low condition they were at when first attempted?

It must be confessed, some difficulties arose from the very nature of the climate. The river St. Lawrence is frozen up for six months in the year. At other times it is not navigable by night, on account of the thick fogs, rapid currents, sand-banks, and concealed rocks, which make it even dangerous by day-light. These obstructions increase from Quebec to Montreal to such a degree, that sailing is quite impracticable, and rowing so difficult, that from the Trois Rivieres, where the tide ends, the
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Boats cannot resist the violence of the current, without the assistance of a very fair wind, and then only in the space of a month or six weeks. From Montreal to the Lake Ontario, travellers meet with no less than six water-falls, which oblige them to unload their canoes, and to carry them and their lading a considerable way by land.

GOVERNMENT from their ignorance, pursued such measures, as greatly to distress their subjects, by withdrawing their attention from the culture of the soil. For to gain the advantage over the English in the fur trade, they erected three and thirty forts, at a great distance from each other. The building and victualling of them diverted the Canadians from the only labours that ought to have employed their attention. This error engaged them in an arduous and perilous undertaking.

IT was not without some uneasiness that the Indians saw the beginnings of those settlements, which might endanger their liberty. Their suspicions induced them to take up arms, so that the colony was seldom free from war. Necessity made all the Canadians soldiers. Their manly and military education made them hardy, and fearless of danger. Just emerging from childhood, they would traverse a vast continent in the summer time in canoes, and in winter on foot, through ice and snow. As they had nothing but their gun to procure subsistence with, they were in continual danger of starving; but they were under no apprehensions of fear, not even of falling into the hands of the savages, who had exerted all the efforts of their imagination in inventing tortures for their enemies, far worse than death.

THE sedentary arts of peace, and the steady labours of agriculture, had no attraction for men accustomed to an active but wandering life. The court which forms no idea of the sweets or the utility of rural life, increased the

the aversion which the Canadians had conceived for it, by bestowing all their favours and honours upon military actions alone. The distinction that was most lavishly bestowed was that of nobility, which was attended with the most fatal consequences. It not only plunged the Canadians into idleness, but also inspired them with an unsurmountable turn for every thing that was splendid, so that the wealth which ought to have been reserved for the improvement of the lands, was laid out in ornament, when a real poverty existed, concealed under the trappings of destructive luxury.

- SUCH was the state of the colony in 1747, when La Galissoniere was appointed governor. He was an able, resolute and active commander; a man of great steadiness, and who acted upon sound principles. The English wanted to extend the limits of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as far as the south side of the river St. Lawrence. He thought this an unjust claim, and was determined to confine them within the peninsula, which he apprehended to be the limits settled by treaty. Their frequent attempts of incroaching on the inland parts, particularly towards the Ohio, or Fair river, he likewise thought unreasonable. He was of opinion, that the Apalachian mountains ought to be the boundary of their possessions, and was fully determined they should not pass them. His successor, who was appointed whilst he was collecting the force necessary to accomplish this vast design, entered into his views with all the warmth they deserved. A number of forts were immediately erected on all sides, to support the system which the court had adopted, perhaps, without foreseeing, or, perhaps, without sufficiently attending to the consequences.

Origin of
the wars
between
the Eng-
lish and the
French in
Canada.

AT this period began those hostilities between the English and the French in North America, which were rather

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rather countenanced than openly avowed by their respective mother countries. This clandestine mode of carrying on war was perfectly agreeable to the ministry at Versailles, as it afforded them an opportunity of recovering by degrees, and as it were in silence, what they had lost by treaties, at a time when the enemy had imposed their own terms. These repeated checks at last opened the eyes of Great-Britain, and disclosed the political system of her rival. George II. thought an equivocal situation was inconsistent with the superiority of his maritime forces. His flag was ordered to insult the French flag on every sea. The English accordingly took or dispersed all the French ships they met with, and in 1758, steered towards Cape Breton.

Conquest
of Cape
Breton by
the Eng-
lish.

THIS island, the key of Canda, had already been attacked in 1745, and the event is of so singular a nature, that it deserves a particular detail. The plan of this first invasion was laid at Boston, and New England bore the expence of it. A merchant named Pepperel, who had stirred up, encouraged and directed the enthusiasm of the colony, was intrusted with the command of an army of 6000 men, which had been levied for this expedition.

THOUGH these forces, were convoyed by a squadron from Jamaica, yet they brought the first intelligence to Cape Breton of the danger that threatened the island; though the advantage of a surprize secured their landing without opposition; though they had but 600 regular troops to encounter, and 800 inhabitants hastily armed, yet the success of the undertaking was precarious; for what great exploits, could be expected from a raw militia, hastily assembled, who had never seen a siege or faced an enemy, and were to act under the guidance of sea-officers only? These unexperienced troops stood in need of the assistance of some fortunate incident

incident, which they were indeed favoured with in a very singular manner.

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THE construction and repairs of the fortifications had at all times been left to the management of the garrison of Louisbourg. The soldiers were eager for being employed in these works, which they considered not only as conducive to their safety, but a means of procuring a comfortable subsistence. When they found those who were to have paid them appropriate the fruit of their labours to their own use, they demanded justice. It was denied them, and they determined to maintain their right. As this injustice had been shared between the chief persons of the colony and the subaltern officers, the soldiers could obtain no redress. Their indignation against these rapacious extortioners rose to such a height that they despised all authority. They had lived in open rebellion for six months, before the English appeared before the place.

THIS was the time to conciliate the minds of both parties, and to unite in the common cause. The soldiers made the first advances; but their commanders mistrusted a generosity of which they themselves were incapable. If these mean oppressors could have conceived it possible that the soldiery would have entertained such elevated notions, as to sacrifice their own resentment to the good of their country, they would have taken advantage of this disposition, and have fallen upon the enemy whilst they were forming their camp and beginning to open their trenches. Besiegers, unacquainted with any military principle, would have been disconcerted by regular and vigorous attacks. The first checks might have been sufficient to discourage them, and to make them relinquish the undertaking. But it was firmly believed that the soldiers were desirous of

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sallying out, only that they might have an opportunity of deserting; and their own officers kept them in a manner prisoners, till a defence so ill-managed had reduced them to the necessity of capitulating. The whole island shared the fate of Louisbourg, its only bulwark.

THIS valuable possession, restored to France by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, was again attacked by the English in 1758. On the 2d of June, a fleet of twenty-three ships of the line and eighteen frigates, carrying 16,000 veterans, anchored in Gabarus bay, within half a league of Louisbourg. As it was evident that it would be to no purpose to land at a greater distance, from the impossibility of bringing up their artillery and other necessaries for a siege, this the garrison were determined to render as impracticable as possible, particularly near the town. These precautions however well executed, the besiegers were careful to evade, and had recourse to a stratagem, for they extended their line so much, that no one part seemed more to engage their attention than another; when on a sudden and by force of arms they made good their landing in Cormoran creek.

THIS place was weak by nature. The French had fortified it with a good parapet planted with cannon. Behind this rampart they had posted 2000 excellent soldiers and some Indians. In front they had made such a close hedge with branches of trees and other materials, as would have been very difficult to penetrate, even if it had not been defended. This kind of pallisade, which concealed all the preparations for defence, appeared at a distance to be nothing more than a verdant plain.

THIS would have preserved the colony, had the assailants been suffered to have landed, and to advance with confidence, on a presumption that they had but few obstacles to surmount. Then, overpowered at once by the

the fire of the artillery and the small arms, they would infallibly have perished on the shore, or in the hurry of reembarking; the more as the sea was just then very much agitated. This unexpected loss might have interrupted the whole project.

BUT all the precautions of prudence were rendered abortive by the impetuosity of the French. The English had scarce begun to move towards the shore, when their enemies hastened to discover the snare that was laid for them. By the brisk and hasty fire that was levelled at their boats, and still more by the premature removal of the hedges that masked the forces, which it was so much the interest of the French to conceal, the enemy quickly discovered the danger they had to engage with. They immediately fell back, but could not discover any place so promising for the purpose of effecting their landing, as a rock not very distant, which had hitherto been deemed inaccessible. General Wolfe, had no sooner reembarked his troops, than he pushed for the spot, beckoning to Major Scot to follow him.

THIS officer immediately took possession of this rock with his men. His own boat which came up first, sinking at the very instant he was stepping out, he climbed up alone. He was in hopes of meeting with a number of his men there, who had been sent off some hours before, but to his surprise found no more than ten. With these few he defended the summit of the rock, against the fire of ten Indians, and a body of French, who killed two of his men, and mortally wounded three more. Notwithstanding his weakness, he stood his ground under cover of a thicket, till his brave countrymen, regardless of the boisterous waves and the fire of the artillery, came up to him, and put him in full possession of that important post, the only one that could secure their landing.

THE French, as soon as they saw that the enemy had secured their landing, betook themselves to the only remaining

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remaining refuge, and shut themselves up in Louisbourg. The fortifications were in a bad condition, for the sea sand, which they had been obliged to use, was by no means fit for works of masonry. The lining of the several curtains were entirely crumbled away. There was only one casemate and a small magazine that were bomb proof. The garrison which was to defend the place consisted only of 2,900 men.

NOTWITHSTANDING all these disadvantages, the besieged were determined to make an obstinate resistance. While they were employed in defending themselves with so much firmness, the succours they expected from Canada might possibly arrive. At all events this was a means of preserving that great colony from all further invasion for the remainder of the campaign. It is scarce credible that this degree of resolution was supported by the courage of a woman. Madame de Droucourt continually upon the ramparts, with her purse in her hand; and firing herself three guns every day, seemed to dispute with the governor her husband the glory of his office. The besieged were not dismayed at the ill success of their several sallies, or the masterly operations concerted by Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst. It was but at the eve of an assault, which it was impossible to sustain, that they conceived any thoughts of surrendering. They made an honourable capitulation, and the conqueror shewed more respect for his enemy and for himself, than to sully his glory by any act of severity or one unbecoming the generosity of a soldier.

The English attack Canada.

THE conquest of Cape Breton opened the way into Canada. The very next year the seat of war was removed thither; or rather the scenes of bloodshed, which had long existed in that immense continent, now greatly encreased, by the following proceedings.

THE French, settled in those parts, had carried their ambitious views towards the north, where the finest furs were

were to be had, and in the greatest plenty. When this vein of wealth was exhausted, or yielded less than it did at first, their trade turned southward, where they discovered the Ohio, to which they gave the name of the Fair river. It laid open the natural communication between Canada and Louisiana. For though the ships that sail up the river St. Lawrence go no further than Quebec, the navigation is carried on in barges up to lake Ontario, which is only parted from lake Erie by a neck of land, where the French very early built Fort Niagara. It is on this spot, in the neighbourhood of lake Erie, that the source of the river Ohio is found, which waters the finest country in the world, and increasing by the many rivers that fall into it, conveys its waters into the Mississippi.

YET the French made no use of this magnificent canal. The trifling intercourse that subsisted between the two colonies was always carried on by the northern regions. The new way, which was much shorter and easier than the old, first began to be frequented by a body of troops that were sent over to Canada in 1739, to assist the colony of Louisiana, which was in open war with the Indians. After this expedition, the southern road was again forgotten, and was never thought of till the year 1753. At that period, several small forts were erected along the Ohio, the course of which had been traced for four years past. The most considerable of these forts took its name from governor Duquesne who had built it.

THE English colonies could not see without concern French settlements raised behind them, which joined with the old ones, and seemed to surround them. They were apprehensive lest the Apalachian mountains, which were to form the natural boundaries between both nations, should not prove a sufficient barrier against the attempts of a restless and warlike neighbour. Prompted

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by this mistrust, they themselves passed these famous mountains, to dispute the possession of the Ohio with the rival nation. This first step proved unsuccessful. The several parties that were successively sent out, were routed; and the forts were pulled down as fast as they built them.

To put an end to these national affronts, and revenge the disgrace they reflected on the mother-country, a large body of troops, was sent over under the command of General Braddock. In the summer of 1755, as this general was proceeding to attack fort Duquesne with 36 pieces of cannon and 600 men, he was surprized, within four leagues of the place, by 250 Frenchmen and 650 Indians, when he and his army were cut to pieces. This unaccountable mischance put a stop to the march of three numerous bodies that were advancing to fall upon Canada. The terror occasioned by this accident, made them hasten back to their quarters, and in the next campaign, all their motions were guided by the most timid caution.

THE French were emboldened by this perplexity, and though very much inferior to them, ventured to appear before Oswego in August 1756. It was originally a fortified magazine at the mouth of the river Onondago on the lake Ontario. It stood nearly in the centre of Canada, in so advantageous a situation, that many works had from time to time been erected there, which had rendered it one of the capital posts in those parts. It was guarded by 1800 men, with 121 pieces of cannon, and great plenty of stores of all kinds. Though so well supported it surrendered in a few days to the brisk and bold attacks of 3000 men who were laying siege to it.

IN August 1757, 5500 French and 1800 Indians marched up to Fort George, situated on lake Sacrament, which was justly considered as the bulwark of the English

English settlements, and the rendezvous of all the forces destined against Canada. Nature and art had conspired to block up the roads, leading to that place, and to make all access impracticable. These advantages were further supported by several bodies of troops, placed at proper distances in the best positions. Yet these obstacles were surmounted with such prudence and intrepidity, as would have been memorable in history, had the scene of action lain in a more known spot. The French, after killing or dispersing all the small parties they met with, arrived before the place, and forced the garrison, consisting of 2264 men, to capitulate.

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THIS fresh disaster roused the English. Their generals applied themselves during the winter season to the training up of their men, and bringing the several troops under a proper discipline. They made them exercise in the woods, in fighting after the Indian manner. In the spring, the army, consisting of 6300 regulars and 13000 militia belonging to the colonies, assembled on the ruins of Fort George. They embarked on Lake Sacrament, which parted the colonies of both nations, and marched up to Carillon, distant but four leagues.

THAT fort, which had been but lately erected on the breaking out of the war, was extensive enough to withstand the forces that were marching against it. They, therefore, quickly formed intrenchments under the cannon of the fort, with the trunks of trees, heaped up one upon another, and in front they laid large trees whose branches being cut and sharpened, answered the purpose of chevaux de frise. The colours were planted on the top of the ramparts, behind which lay 3500 men.

THE English were not dismayed at these formidable appearances, being fully determined to remove the disgrace of their former miscarriages in a country where

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the prosperity of their trade depended on the success of their arms. On the 8th of July 1758, they rushed upon these pallisades with the wildest fury. Not intimidated by the fire of the French from the top of the parapet, against which they were destitute of every sort of defence. They fell in heaps upon the spiked stumps that were concealed amongst the branches of the trees, into which they had rushed, from their eagerness in the attack. All these losses only served but to increase their furious violence. It continued for upwards of four hours, and cost them above 4000 of their brave men before they would give up this rash and desperate undertaking.

THEY were equally unsuccessful in lesser actions. They did not insult any one post without meeting with a repulse. Every party they sent out was beaten, and every convoy intercepted. The depth of winter, which might have been their protection, was the very season in which the Indians and Canadians carried fire and sword to their frontiers and into the very heart of the English colonies.

ALL these disasters were owing to a false principle of government. The English ministry had always entertained a notion that the superiority of their navy was alone sufficient to assert their dominion in America, as it afforded a ready conveyance for succours, and could easily intercept the enemy's forces.

THOUGH experience had shewn the fallacy of these conceits, the ministry did not even endeavour to diminish the ill effects of them, by the choice of their generals. Almost all those who were employed in this service were deficient either in point of abilities or activity.

THE armies were not such as would make amends for the defects of their commanders. The troops indeed were not wanting in that daring spirit and invincible courage,

courage, which is the characteristic of the English soldiers, arising from the climate, and still more from the nature of their government; but these national accomplishments were counterbalanced or extinguished by the hardships they underwent, in a country destitute of all the conveniences that Europe affords. As to the militia of the colonies, it was made up of peaceable husbandmen, who were not inured to slaughter, like most of the French colonists, by a habit of hunting, and by military ardour.

To these disadvantages, arising from the nature of things, were added others altogether owing to misconduct. The posts erected for the safety of the several English settlements, were not so contrived as to support and assist each other. The provinces having all separate interests, and not being united under the authority of one head, did not concur in those joint efforts, for the good of the whole, and that unanimity of sentiment, which alone could insure success of their measures. The season of action was wasted in vain altercations between the governors and the colonists. Every plan of operation that met with opposition from the assembly was dropped. If any one was agreed upon, it was certainly made public before the execution, and by being divulged, they occasioned a miscarriage. Lastly, they were at irreconcilable enmity with the Indians.

THESE nations had always shewn a visible partiality for the French, in return for the kindness they had shewn in sending them missionaries, whom they considered rather as ambassadors from the prince, than as sent from God. These missionaries, by studying the language of the savages, conforming to their temper and inclinations, and putting in practice every attention to gain their confidence, had acquired an absolute dominion over their minds. The French colonists, far from communicating

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municating the European manners, had adopted those of the country they lived in: their indolence in time of peace, their activity in war, and their constant fondness for a wandering life. Several officers of distinction had got themselves incorporated with them. The hatred and jealousy of the English has villified them on this account, and they have not scrupled to assert that these generous men had given money for the scalps of their enemies, that they joined in the horrid dances that accompany the execution of their prisoners, imitated their cruelties, and partook of their barbarous festivals. But these horrid excesses would be better adapted to a people who have added the partiality they have for their country to their religion, and are more inclined to hate other nations than to love their own government.

THEIR strong attachment to the French was productive of the most inveterate hatred against the English. In their opinion of all the European savages, they were the hardest to tame. Their aversion soon rose to madness; and to a thirst for English blood, when they found that a reward was offered for their destruction, and that they were to be turned out of their native land by foreign assassins. The same hands which had enriched the English colony with their furs, now took up the hatchet to destroy it. The Indians pursued the English with as much eagerness as they did the wild beasts. Glory was no longer their aim in battle, their only object was slaughter. They destroyed armies which the French wished only to subdue. Their fury rose to such a height, that an English prisoner having been conducted into a lonely habitation, the woman immediately cut off his arm, and made her family drink the blood that ran from it. A missionary Jesuit reproaching her with the atrociousness of the action, she answered him;

my children must be warriors, and therefore they must be fed with the blood of their enemies.

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SUCH was the state of things, when an English fleet entered the river St. Lawrence in June 1759. Which had no sooner anchored off the isle of Orleans, than eight fire-ships were sent off to consume it. Had they executed their orders, not a ship or man would have escaped; but the officers who conducted the operation were seized with a panic. They set fire to their vessels too soon, and hurried back to land in their boats. The assailants had seen their danger at a distance, but were delivered from it by this accident, and from that moment the conquest of Canada was almost certain.

Taking of
Quebec by
the Eng-
lish.

THE British flag soon appeared before Quebec. The business was to land there, and to get a firm footing in the neighbourhood of the town, in order to lay siege to it. But they found the banks of the river so well intrenched, and so well defended by troops and redoubts, that their first attempts were fruitless. Every landing cost them torrents of blood, without gaining any ground. They had persisted for six weeks in these unsuccessful endeavours, when at last they had the singular good fortune to land unperceived. It was on the 12th of September, an hour before break of day, three miles above the town. Their army, consisting of 6000 men, was already drawn up in order of battle, when it was attacked the next day by a corps that was inferior by one third. For some time ardour supplied the want of numbers. At last, French vivacity gave up the victory to the enemy, who had lost the intrepid Wolfe their general, but did not lose their confidence and resolution.

THIS was gaining a considerable advantage, but it might not have been decisive. Twelve hours would have been sufficient to collect the troops that were posted

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within a few leagues of the field of battle, to join the vanquished army, and march up to the conquerors, with a force superior to the former. This was the opinion of the French general Montcalm, who being mortally wounded in the retreat, had time enough before he expired, to think of the safety of his men, and to encourage them to repair their disaster. This prudent motion was over-ruled by a council of war. They removed ten leagues off. The Chevalier de Levy, who had hastened from his post to replace Montcalm, blamed this instance of cowardice. They were ashamed of it, and wanted to recall it, and make another attempt for victory, but it was too late. Quebec, three parts destroyed by the firing from the ships, had capitulated on the 17th.

ALL Europe thought the taking of this place had put an end to the great contest of North America. They never imagined that a handful of Frenchmen, in want of every thing, who seemed to be in a desperate condition, would dare to think of protracting their inevitable fate. They did not know what these people were capable of doing. They hastily completed some intrenchments that had been begun ten leagues above Quebec. There they left troops sufficient to stop the progress of the enemy; and proceeded to Montreal, to concert measures to cancel their disgrace.

It was there agreed that in the spring they should march out with an armed force against Quebec, to retake it by surprise, or if that should fail, to besiege it in form. They had nothing in readiness for that purpose, but the plan was so concerted, that they should enter upon the undertaking just at the instant when the succours they expected from France could not fail of arriving.

THOUGH the colony had long been in dreadful want of every thing, the preparatives were already made, when the

the ice, which covered the whole river, began to give way towards the middle, and opened a small canal. They hauled some boats over the ice, and pushed them into the water. The army, consisting of citizens and soldiers, who were but as one body, animated with one soul, fell down this stream, with inconceivable ardour, on the 12th of April 1760. The English thought they still lay quiet in their winter quarters. The army, already landed, was just come up with an advanced guard of 1500 men, posted three leagues from Quebec. This party was just upon the point of being cut to pieces, had it not been for one of those unaccountable incidents, which no human prudence can foresee.

A GUNNER, attempting to step out of his boat, had fallen into the water. He caught hold of a flake of ice, climbed up upon it, and swam down the stream. As he passed by Quebec, close to the shore, he was seen by a centinal, who observing a man in distress, called out for help. They flew to his assistance, and found him motionless. They knew him by his uniform to be a French soldier, and carried him to the governor's house, where by the help of spirituous liquors, they restored him to life for a moment. He so far recovered his speech as to be able to tell them that an army of 10,000 French were at the gates, and expired. The governor immediately dispatched orders to the advanced guard to come within the walls with all expedition. Notwithstanding their precipitated retreat, the French had time to attack their rear. A few moments later, they would have been defeated, and the city re-taken.

THE assailants however marched on with an intrepidity which seemed as if they expected every thing from their valour, and thought no more of a surprize. They were within a league of the town, when they were met
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by a body of 4000 men, who were sent out to stop them. The onset was sharp, and the resistance obstinate. The English were driven back within their walls, leaving 1800 of their bravest men upon the spot, and their artillery in the enemy's hands.

THE trenches were immediately opened before Quebec; but as they had none but field-pieces, their succours having not yet arrived, and as a strong English squadron was coming up the river, they were obliged to raise the siege on the 16th of May, and to retreat from post to post, as far as Montreal. Three formidable armies, one of which was come down, and another up the river, and a third proceeded over the lake Champlain, surrounded these troops, which were not very numerous at first, and being now exceedingly reduced by frequent skirmishes and continual fatigues, were in want both of provisions and warlike stores, and found themselves surrounded and inclosed in an open place. These miserable remains of a body of 7000 men, who had never been recruited, and had so much signalized themselves, with the help of a few militia and a few Indians, were at last forced to capitulate for themselves, and for the whole colony. The conquest was confirmed by the treaty of peace, and this country increased the possessions of the English in North-America.

Canada is ceded to the English. What advantages they might derive from that possession.

THE acquisition of an immense territory is not, however, the only advantage that Great Britain could derive from the success of her armies. The considerable population she has found there is of still greater importance. Some of these numerous inhabitants, it is true, have fled from a new dominion, which admitted no other difference among men but such as arose from personal qualities, education, fortune, or the ability of being useful to society. But the emigration of those contemptible persons, whose importance was founded on nothing

nothing but barbarous custom, cannot surely have been considered as a misfortune. Would not the colony have greatly benefited by getting rid of an indolent nobility that had incumbered it so long, of a proud noblesse that held in contempt all kinds of manual labour? A disposition militating against the interest of the colony, which only required, that its lands should be cleared, its forests cut down, its iron mines worked, its fisheries extended, its industry and exportations improved, to render its metropolis one of the first commercial cities.

THE province of Canada has been convinced of this truth. And, indeed, notwithstanding the ties of blood, language, religion and government which are usually so strong; notwithstanding that variety of connections and prejudices which assume so powerful an ascendant over the minds of men; the Canadians have not shewn much concern at the violent separation by which they were detached from their ancient country. They have readily concurred in the means employed by the English ministry to establish their happiness and liberty upon a solid foundation.

THE laws of the English admiralty were first given them. But this innovation was scarcely perceived by them; because it scarce concerned any except the conquerors, who were in possession of all the maritime trade of the colony.

THEY have paid more attention to the establishment of the criminal laws of England, which was one of the most happy circumstances Canada could experience. To the impenetrable mysterious transactions of a cruel inquisition, succeeded a cool, rational and public trial; a tribunal dreadful and accustomed to shed blood was replaced by human judges, who always supposes a person innocent, until the contrary is made evident.

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THE conquered people have been still more delighted on finding the liberty of their persons secured for ever by the famous law of Habeas Corpus. As they had too long been victims of the arbitrary wills of those who governed them, they have blessed the beneficent hand that drew them from a state of slavery, to put them under the protection of equitable laws.

THE attention of the British ministry was afterwards taken up in supplying Canada with a code of civil laws. This important work, though intrusted to able, industrious and upright lawyers, hath not yet obtained the sanction of government. If the success answers the expectation, a colony will at last exist which will have a legislative system adapted to its climate, its population, and its labours.

INDEPENDENT of these parental views, Great Britain has thought it her political interest to introduce, by secret springs, among her new subjects, an inclination for the customs, the language, the worship and the opinions of the mother country. This kind of uniformity is, in fact, one of the strongest bands that can attach the colonies to the mother country. But we imagine that the present situation of things ought to have occasioned a preference to another system. England has at this time so much reason to be apprehensive of the spirit of independence, which prevails in North-America, that, perhaps, it would have been more to her advantage to maintain Canada in a kind of distinct state from the other provinces, rather than bring them nearer to each other by affinities which may one day unite them too closely.

HOWEVER this may be, the British ministry have given the English government to Canada, so far as it was consistent with an authority entirely regal, and without any mixture of a popular administration. Their new subjects

subjects, secure from the fear of future wars, eased of the burthen of defending distant posts, which removed them far from their habitations, and deprived of the fur trade which has returned into its natural channel, have only to attend to their cultures. As these advance, their intercourse with Europe and with the Caribbee islands will increase, and soon become very considerable. It will for the future be the only resource of a vast country, into which France formerly poured immense sums, considering it as the chief bulwark of her southern islands. The truth of this political combination, which has been overlooked by so many negotiators, will appear evident, as we proceed to explain the advantages of the English settlements on the continent of North-America.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

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English colonies settled at Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland, Nova-Scotia, New-England, New-York, and New-Jersey.

First expeditions of the English in North-America.

ENGLAND was only known in America by her piracies, which were often successful and always brilliant, when Sir Walter Raleigh conceived a project to make his nation partake of the prodigious riches which, for near a century past, flowed from that hemisphere into ours. That great man, who was born for bold undertakings, cast his eye on the eastern coast of North-America. The talent he had of subduing the mind by representing all his proposals in a striking light, soon procured him associates, both at court and amongst the merchants. The company that was formed upon the allurements of his magnificent promises, obtained of government in 1584 the absolute disposal of all the discoveries that should be made; and without any further encouragement, they fitted out two ships in April following, that anchored in Roanoak bay, which now makes a part of Carolina. Their commanders, worthy
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of the trust reposed in them, behaved with remarkable affability in a country where they wanted to settle their nation, and left the savages to make their own terms in the trade they proposed to open with them.

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EVERY thing that these successful navigators reported on their return to Europe, concerning the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the soil, and the disposition of the inhabitants, encouraged the company to proceed. They accordingly sent seven ships the following spring, which landed a hundred and eight free men at Roanoak, for the purpose of commencing a settlement. Part of them were murdered by the savages whom they had insulted, and the rest, having been so improvident as to neglect the culture of the land, were perishing with misery and hunger, when a deliverer came to their assistance.

THIS was Sir Francis Drake, so famous among seamen for being the next after Magellan who sailed round the globe. The abilities he had shewn in that grand expedition, induced queen Elizabeth to make choice of him to humble Philip II. in that part of his dominions which he made use of to disturb the peace of other nations. Few orders were ever more punctually executed. The English fleet seized upon St. Jago, Carthagen, St. Domingo, several other important places, and took a great many rich ships. His instructions were, that after these operations, he should proceed and offer his assistance to the colony at Roanoak. The wretched few, who had survived the numberless calamities that had befallen them, were in such despair, that they refused all assistance, and only begged he would convey them to their native country. The admiral complied with their request; and thus the expences that had been disbursed till that time were lost.

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THE associates, however, were not discouraged by this unforeseen event. From time to time they sent over a few colonists, who by the year 1589, amounted to a hundred and fifty persons of both sexes, under a regular government, and fully provided with all they wanted for their defence, and for the purposes of agriculture and commerce. These beginnings raised some expectations, but they were lost in the disgrace of Raleigh, who fell a victim to the caprices of his own wild imagination. The colony, having lost its founder, was totally forgotten.

IT had been thus neglected for twelve years, when Gosnold, one of the first associates, resolved to visit it in 1602. His experience in navigation made him suspect that the right track had not been found out, and that in steering by the Canary and Caribbee islands, the voyage had been made longer than it need have been by above a thousand leagues. These conjectures induced him to steer away from the south, and to turn more westward. The attempt succeeded; but when he reached the American coast, he found himself further north than any who had gone before. The region where he landed, since included in New-England, afforded him plenty of beautiful furs, with which he sailed back to England.

THE speed and success of this undertaking made a strong impression upon the English merchants. Several joined in 1606 to form a settlement in the country that Gosnold had discovered. Their example recalled to others the remembrance of Roanoak; and this gave rise to two charter companies. As the continent where they were to exercise their monopoly was then known in England only by the general name of Virginia, the one was called the South Virginia, and the other the North Virginia company.

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THE first zeal soon abated, and there appeared to be more jealousy than emulation between the two companies. Though they had been favoured with the first lottery that ever was drawn in England, their progress was so slow, that in 1614, there were not above four hundred persons in both settlements. That sort of competency which was sufficient for the simplicity of the manners of the times, was then so general in England, that no one was tempted to go abroad by the prospect of a fortune. It is a sense of misfortune, that gives men a dislike to their native country, still more than the thirst of riches. Nothing less than an extraordinary ferment could then have peopled even an excellent country. This was at length brought about by superstition, and excited by the collision of religious opinions.

THE first priests of the Britains were the Druids, so famous in the annals of Gaul. To throw a mysterious veil upon the ceremonies of a savage worship, their rights were never performed but in dark recesses, and generally in gloomy groves, where fear creates spectres and apparitions. Only a few persons were initiated into these mysteries, and intrusted with the sacred doctrines; and even these were not allowed to commit any thing to writing upon this important subject; lest their secrets should fall into the hands of the prophane vulgar. The altars of a formidable deity were stained with the blood of human victims, and enriched with the most precious spoils of war. Though the dread of the vengeance of heaven was the only guard of these treasures, they were always revered by avarice, which the Druids had artfully repressed by the fundamental doctrine of the endless transmigration of the soul. The chief authority of government resided in the ministers of that terrible religion; because men are more powerfully and more

The continent of America is peopled by the religious wars that disturb England.

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lastingly swayed by opinion than by any other motive. The education of youth was in their hands; and the ascendancy they assumed at that period remained through the rest of life. They took cognizance of all civil and criminal causes, and were as absolute in their decisions on state affairs as on the private differences between man and man. Whoever dared to resist their decrees, was not only excluded from all participation in the divine mysteries, but even from the society of men. It was accounted a crime and a reproach to hold any converse or to have any dealings with him; he was irrevocably deprived of the protection of the laws, and nothing but death could put an end to his miseries. The history of human superstitions affords no instance of any one so tyrannical as that of the Druids. It was the only one that provoked the Romans to use severity, as none opposed the power of those conquerors with such violence as they did.

THAT religion, however, had lost much of its influence, when it was totally banished by christianity in the seventh century. The northern nations, that had successively invaded the southern provinces of Europe, had found there the seeds of that new religion, in the ruins of an empire that was falling on all sides. Whether it was owing to their indifference for their distant gods, or to their ignorance which was easily persuaded, they readily embraced a worship which, from the multiplicity of its ceremonies, could not but attract the notice of rude and savage men. The Saxons, who afterwards invaded England, followed their example, and adopted without difficulty a religion that secured their conquest by abolishing the old forms of worship.

THE effects were such as might be expected from a religion, the original simplicity of which was at that time so much disfigured. Rite speculations were soon substituted

stituted in lieu of active and social virtues; and a stupid veneration for unknown saints, to the worship of the supreme Being. Miracles dazzled the eyes of men, and diverted them from attending to natural causes. They were taught to believe that prayers and offerings would atone for the most heinous crimes. Every sentiment of reason was perverted, and every principle of morality corrupted.

THOSE at least who had been the promoters of this confusion, knew how to avail themselves of it. The priests obtained that respect which was denied to kings; and their persons became sacred. The magistrate had no inspection over their conduct, and they even evaded the watchfulness of the civil law. Their tribunal eluded and even superseded all others. They found means to introduce religion into every question of law, and into all state affairs, and made themselves umpires or judges in every cause. When faith spoke, every one listened, in silent attention, to its inexplicable oracles. Such was the infatuation of those dark ages, that the scandalous excesses of the clergy, did not weaken their authority.

THIS was owing to its being intrenched in a profusion of wealth. For no sooner had the priests taught that religion, depended principally upon sacrifices, which required the support of that fortune and earthly possessions, of which the nobility were the sole proprietors, than these employed their slaves to build churches, and allotted their lands to the endowment of those foundations. Kings gave to the church all that they had extorted from the people; and stripped themselves to such a degree, as even not to leave a sufficiency for the payment of their army, or for defraying the necessary charges of government. These deficiencies were never made up by those who were the cause of them. They bore no share in the maintenance of society. The payment of taxes

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with money belonging to the church would have been a sacrilege, and a prostitution of holy things to profane purposes. Such was the declaration of the clergy, and the laity believed them. The possession of the third part of the feudal tenures in the kingdom; the free will offerings of a deluded people, and the price set upon the priestly offices, did not satisfy the enormous avidity of the clergy, ever attentive to their own interest. They found in the old testament, that by divine appointment the priests had an undoubted right, to the tithes of the produce of the land. This claim was so readily admitted, that they extended it to the tithe of industry, of the profits on trade, of the wages of labourers, of the pay of soldiers, and sometimes of the salaries of placemen.

ROME, which had hitherto contentedly admired with no small self arrogance, the great increase of the riches and grandeur of the followers of an humble Saviour, who had preferred poverty, and underwent an ignominious death, did not delay to share in the spoils of that unfortunate kingdom. The first step she took was to open a trade for relics, which were always ushered in with some striking miracle, and sold in proportion to the credulity of the purchasers. The great men, and even monarchs, were invited to make pilgrimages to the capital of the world, to purchase a place in heaven suitable to the rank they held on earth. The popes by degrees assumed the presentation to church preferments, which at first they gave away, but afterwards sold. By these means, their tribunal took cognizance of all ecclesiastical causes, and in time they claimed a tenth of the revenues of the clergy, who themselves levied the tenth of all the substance of the realm.

WHEN these pious extortions were carried as far as they possibly could be in England, Rome aspired to the supreme

supreme authority over it. The frauds of her ambition were covered with a sacred veil. She sapped the foundations of liberty, with no other power but the influence of opinion. This was setting up men in opposition to themselves, and availing herself of their prejudices, in order to acquire an absolute dominion over them. She usurped the power of a despotic judge between the altar and the throne, between the prince and his subjects, between one potentate and another. She kindled the flames of war with her spiritual thunders. But she wanted emissaries to spread the terror of her arms, and made choice of the monks for that purpose. The secular clergy, notwithstanding their celibacy, which kept them from worldly connections, had still an attachment to the world by the ties of interest, often stronger than those of blood. A set of men, secluded from society by singular institutions, which must incline them to fanaticism, and by a blind submission to the dictates of a foreign pontiff, were best adapted to second the views of such a sovereign. These vile and abject tools of superstition, fulfilled their fatal employment but too successfully. With their intrigues, seconded by favourable occurrences, England, which had so long withstood the conquering arms of the ancient Roman, became tributary to the modern.

At length the passions and violent caprices of Henry VIII. broke the scandalous dependence. The abuse of so infamous a power had already opened the eyes of the nation. The prince ventured at once to shake off the authority of the pope, abolish monasteries, and assume the supremacy of his own church.

THIS remarkable separation from the church was followed by other alterations in the reign of Edward, son and successor to Henry. The religious opinions, which were then extending themselves through Europe, were openly discussed. Something was adopted from each ;

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many doctrines and rites of the old religion were retained; and from these several systems or tenets, arose a new communion, distinguished by the name of the church of England.

ELIZABETH, who completed this important work, finding *theory* alone not sufficiently powerful to affect the generality of mankind, thought it prudent to adopt such ceremonies as should inspire a practice that would best lead the mind, to a proper attention of the object desired. Her natural taste for *grandeur* and a decency of appearance, led her to adopt such religious ceremonies as contributed not a little to reconcile some differences in opinion, then too strongly agitated. But in this she was restrained by political considerations, and was obliged to sacrifice something to the prejudices of that party who had raised her to the throne, and was able to support her.

FAR from suspecting that James I. would execute what Elizabeth had not even dared to attempt, it might be expected that he would rather have been inclined to restrain ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies. That prince had been trained up in the principles of the presbyterians, a sect who affected great simplicity of dress, gravity of manners, and austerity of doctrine, many of whom from a detestation of popery became puritans, who loved to speak in scripture phrases, and to give none but scripture names to their children. One would have supposed that such an education must have prejudiced the king against the outward pomp of the catholic worship, and every thing that bore any affinity to it. But the spirit of system prevailed in him over the principles of education. Struck with the episcopal jurisdiction which he found established in England, and which he thought conformable to his own notions of civil government, he abandoned from conviction the early impressions he had received, and grew passionately fond
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of a hierarchy modelled upon the political œconomy of a well constituted empire. In the height of his zeal, he wanted to introduce this wonderful discipline into Scotland, his native country, as well as to unite to it such of the English, as still dissented from it. He even intended to add the pomp of the most awful ceremonies to his majestic plan, if he could have carried his grand projects into execution. But the opposition he met with at first setting out, would not permit him to advance any further in his system of reformation. He contented himself with recommending to his son to resume his views, whenever the times should furnish a favourable opportunity; and represented the presbyterians to him as equally dangerous to religion and to the throne.

CHARLES readily adopted his advice, which was but too conformable to the principles of despotism he had imbibed from Buckingham his favourite, the most corrupt of men, and the corrupter of the courtiers. To pave the way to the revolution he was meditating, he promoted several bishops to the highest dignities in the government, and conferred on them most of the offices that gave the greatest influence in public measures. Those ambitious prelates, now become the masters of a prince who had been weak enough to be guided by the instigations of others, betrayed that ambition so familiar to the clergy, of encreasing the ecclesiastical jurisdiction under the shadow of the royal prerogative. They multiplied the church ceremonies without end, under pretence of their being of apostolical institution, and to enforce their observance, had recourse to royal acts of arbitrary power. It was evident that there was a settled design of restoring, in all its splendour, what the protestants called Romish idolatry, though the most violent means should be necessary to establish it. This

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project gave the more umbrage, as it was supported by the prejudices and intrigues of a presumptuous queen, who had brought from France an immoderate passion for popery and arbitrary power.

It can scarce be imagined what acrimony these alarming suspicions had raised in the minds of the people. Common prudence would have allowed time for the ferment to subside. But the spirit of fanaticism made choice of those troublesome times to recall every thing to the unity of the church of England, which was now become more offensive to the non-conformists, on account of so many customs being introduced into it, which they considered as superstitious. An order was issued, that both kingdoms should conform to the worship and discipline of the episcopal church. This law included the presbyterians, who then began to be called puritans, from their professing to take the pure and simple word of God for the rule of their faith and practice. It was extended likewise to all the foreign Calvinists that were in the kingdom, whatever difference there might be in their opinions. This hierarchical worship was enjoined to the regiments, and trading companies, that were in the several countries of Europe. Lastly, the English ambassadors were required to separate from all communion with foreign protestants, so that England lost all the influence she had abroad, as the head and support of the reformation.

IN this fatal crisis, most of the puritans were divided between submission and opposition. Those who would neither stoop to yield, nor take the pains to resist, turned their views towards North-America, to seek for that civil and religious liberty, which their ungrateful country denied them. The enemies of their peace attempted to shut this retreat against these fugitives, who wanted to worship God in their own way in a desert land.

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Eight ships that lay at anchor in the Thames ready to sail, were stopped; and Cromwell is said to have been detained there by that very king, whom he afterwards brought to the scaffold. Enthusiasm, however, stronger than the rage of persecution, surmounted every obstacle, and that region of America was soon filled with presbyterians. The satisfaction they enjoyed in their retreat, gradually induced all those of that persuasion to follow them, who were not atrocious enough to take delight in those dreadful calamities which soon after made England a scene of blood and horror. Many were afterwards induced to remove thither in more peaceable times, with a view to advance their fortunes. In a word, all Europe contributed greatly to increase their population. Thousands of unhappy men, oppressed by the tyranny or intolerant spirit of their sovereigns, took refuge in that hemisphere. Let us now endeavour to acquire some information respecting that country.

It is surprising that for so long a time, so little should have been known of the new world even after it was discovered. Cruel soldiers and covetous merchants were improper persons to give us just and clear notions of this half of the Universe. It was the province of philosophy to avail herself of the informations scattered in the accounts of voyagers and missionaries, in order to view America such as nature hath made it; and to investigate its affinity with the rest of the globe.

Parallel
between
the old and
the new
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It is now pretty certain that the new continent has not half the extent of surface of the old. On the other hand, the form of both is so singularly alike, that we might easily be induced to draw consequences from this particular, if it were not always right to be upon our guard against the influence of systems, which often stops us in our researches after truth, and hinders us from attaining to it.

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THE two continents seem to form as it were, two broad slips of land, that begin from the arctic pole, and terminate at the tropic of Capricorn, separated on the east and west by the ocean that surrounds them. Whatever may be the structure of these two continents, and the balance or symmetry of their form; it is plain their equilibrium does not depend upon their position. It is the inconstancy of the sea that makes the solidity of the earth. To fix the globe upon its basis, it seemed necessary to have an element which, floating incessantly round our planet, might by its weight counterbalance all other substances, and by its fluidity restore that equilibrium, which the conflict of the other elements might have overthrown. Water, by the motion that is natural to it, and likewise by its gravity, is infinitely better calculated to keep up the harmony necessary, and the balance of the several parts of the globe round its centre, than any other element we are yet acquainted with. If our hemisphere has a very wide extent of land to the North, a mass of water of equal weight at the opposite point, will certainly produce an equilibrium. If under the tropics we have a rich country covered with men and animals; under the same latitude America will have a sea full of fish. Whilst forests of trees, bending under the largest fruits, the most enormous quadrupeds, the most populous nations, elephants and men press on the surface of the earth, and seem to absorb all its fertility throughout the torrid zone; at both poles are found the whales with innumerable multitudes of cod and herrings, with clouds of insects, and all the infinite and prodigious tribes that inhabit the seas, as if to support the axis of the earth, and prevent its inclining or deviating to either side: if, however, elephants, whales or men can be said to have any weight on a globe, where all living creatures are but a transient

sient modification of the earth that composes it. In a word, the ocean rolls over this globe to model it, in conformity to the general laws of gravity. Sometimes it covers and sometimes it uncovers a hemisphere, a pole or a zone; but in general it seems to affect more particularly the equator, as the cold of the poles in some measure takes off that fluidity which constitutes its essence, and imparts to it all its action. It is chiefly between the tropics that the sea spreads and is in motion, and that it undergoes the greatest change both in its regular and periodical motions, as well as in those kinds of convulsions occasionally excited in it by tempestuous winds. The attraction of the sun, and the fermentations occasioned by its continual heat in the torrid zone, must have a very remarkable influence upon the ocean. The motion of the moon adds a new force to this influence, and the sea, to yield to this double impulse, must, it should seem, flow towards the equator. The flatness of the globe towards the poles can only be ascribed to that great extent of water that has hitherto prevented our knowing any thing of the land near the South pole. The sea cannot easily pass from within the tropics, unless the temperate and frozen zones be not nearer the centre of the earth than the torrid zone. It is the sea then that constitutes the equilibrium with the land, and disposes the arrangement of the materials that compose it. One proof that the two regular slips of land, which the two continents of the globe present at first view, are not essentially necessary to its conformation, is, that the new hemisphere has remained covered with the waters of the sea, a much longer time than the old. Besides, if there is a visible affinity between the two hemispheres, there may be differences between them, however striking their similitude, which will destroy that supposed harmony, we flatter ourselves that we shall find.

WHEN

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WHEN we consider the map of the world, and perceive the local correspondence there is, between the isthmus of Suez and that of Panama, between the cape of Good Hope and cape Horn, between the Archipelago of the East-Indies and that of the Leeward islands, and between the mountains of Chili and those of Monomotapa; we are struck with the similarity of the several forms, this picture presents. Every where we imagine we observe land opposite to land, water to water, islands and peninsulas scattered by the hand of nature, to serve as a counterpoise, and the sea by its fluctuation, constantly maintaining the balance of the whole. But if on the other hand we compare the great extent of the Pacific Ocean, which parts the East and West Indies, with the small space the Ocean occupies between the coast of Guinea and that of Brazil; the vast quantity of inhabited land to the North, with the little we know towards the South; the direction of the mountains of Tartary and Europe, which is from East to West, with that of the Cordeleras which run from North to South; the mind is at a stand, and we have the mortification to discover the order and symmetry vanish, with which we had embellished our system of the earth. The observer is still more displeased with his conjectures, when he considers the immense height of the mountains of Peru. Then, indeed, he is astonished to see a continent so high, and so lately discovered, the sea so far below its tops, and so recently come down from the lands, that seemed to be effectually defended from its attacks, by those tremendous bulwarks. It is, however, an undeniable fact, that both continents of the new hemisphere, have been covered with the sea. The air and the land confirm this truth.

THE broad and long extended rivers of America; the immense forests to the South; the spacious lakes and
vast

vast morasses to the North; the eternal snows between the tropics; few of those pure sands, that seem to be the remains of an exhausted ground; no men entirely black; very fair people under the line; a cool and mild air in the same latitude, with the sultry and uninhabitable parts of Africa; a frozen and severe climate under the same parallel, of our temperate climates; and lastly, a difference of ten or twelve degrees, in the temperature of the old and new hemispheres: these are so many marks of a world, still in its infant state.

WHY should the continent of America be so much warmer, and so much colder in proportion, than that of Europe, if it were not for the moisture, the ocean has left behind, by quitting it long after our continent was peopled? Nothing but the sea can possibly have prevented Mexico, from being inhabited as early as Asia. If the waters that still moisten, the bowels of the earth in the new hemisphere, had not covered its surface, man would very early have cut down the woods, drained the fens, consolidated a soft and watery soil, by stirring it up, and exposing it to the rays of the sun, opened a free passage to the winds, and raised dikes along the rivers: in short, the climate would have been totally altered by this time. But a rude and unpeopled hemisphere, denotes a recent world; when the sea, rolling in the neighbourhood of its coasts, still flows obscurely in its channels. The sun less scorching, more plentiful rains, and thicker and more stagnating vapours, betray either the decay, or the infancy of nature.

THE difference of climate, arising from the waters having lain so long on the ground in America, could not but have a great influence on men and animals. From this diversity of causes, must necessarily arise, a very great diversity of effects. Accordingly we see more species of animals by two thirds, in the old continent than

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than in the new ; animals of the same kind considerably danger ; fiercer and more savage monsters, in proportion to the greater increase of mankind. On the other hand, nature seems to have strangely neglected the new world. The men have less strength and less courage ; no beard and no hair ; they are degraded in all the tokens of manhood ; and but little susceptible of the lively and powerful sentiment of love, which is the principle of every attachment, the first instinct, the first band of society, without which all the other factitious ties have neither energy nor duration. The women, who are still more weak, are neither favourably treated by nature nor by the men, who have but little love for them, and consider them as the instruments that are to administer to their wants ; they rather sacrifice them to their own indolence, than consecrate them to their pleasures. This indolence is the great delight and supreme felicity of the Americans, of which the women are the victims, by the continual labours imposed upon them. It must, however, be confessed that in America, as in all other parts, the men, when they have sentenced the women to labour, have been so equitable as to take upon themselves the perils of war, together with the toils of hunting and fishing. But their indifference for the sex which nature has intrusted them with, for the propagation of their species, implies an imperfection in their organs, a sort of state of childhood in the people of America, as in those of our continent, who are not yet arrived, to the age of puberty. This is a vice implanted by nature in the other hemisphere, the novelty of which is discovered by this kind of impotency.

BUT if the Americans are a new people, are they a race of men originally distinct from those that cover the face of the old world ? This is a question which ought not to be hastily decided. The origin of the population

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of America, is involved in inextricable difficulties. If we assert that the Greenlanders first came from Norway, and then went over to the coast of Labrador; others will tell us, it is more natural to suppose, that the Greenlanders are sprung from the Esquimaux, to whom they bear a greater resemblance, than to the Europeans. If we should suppose, that California was peopled from Kamtschatka, it may be asked, what motives or what accident could have led the Tartars to the north-west of America? Yet it is imagined to be from Greenland or from Kamtschatka, that the inhabitants of the old world, must have gone over to the new, as it is by those two countries, that the two continents are connected, or at least approach nearest to each other. Beside, how can we conceive that in America, the torrid zone can have been peopled from one of the frozen zones? Population will indeed spread from north to south, but it must naturally have begun under the equator, where life is cherished by warmth. If the people of America could not come from our continent, and yet appear to be a new race, we must have recourse to the flood, which is the source and the solution of all difficulties, in the history of nations.

LET us suppose that the sea having overflowed the other hemisphere, its old inhabitants took refuge upon the Apalachian mountains, and the Cordeliers, which are far higher than our mount Ararat. But how could they have lived upon those heights, covered with snow, and surrounded with waters? How is it possible that men who had breathed in a pure and delightful climate, could have survived the miseries of want, the inclemency of a tainted air, and those numberless calamities, which must be the unavoidable consequences of a deluge? How will the race have been preserved and propagated, in those times of general calamity, and in the succeeding ages of

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a languid existence? In defiance of all these obstacles, we must allow that America has been peopled, by some wretched remains of the great devastation. Every thing carries the vestiges of a malady, of which the human race still feels the effects. The ruin of that world is still imprinted on its inhabitants. They are a species of men degraded, and degenerated in their natural constitution, in their stature, in their way of life, and in their understandings, which has occasioned them to make but little progress in the arts of civilization. A damper air, and a more marshy ground, must necessarily infect the very roots and seeds, intended both for the subsistence and increase of mankind. It must have required some ages to restore population, and still a greater number, before the ground could be settled and dried, so as to be fit for tillage, and for the foundation of buildings. The earth must necessarily be purified before the air could clear, and the air must be clear before the earth could be rendered habitable. The imperfection of nature in America, is not therefore a proof of its recent origin, but of its regeneration. It was probably peopled at the same time with the other hemisphere, but might have been the last that suffered in the universal Deluge. The large bones that are found under ground in America, show that it formerly had elephants, rhinoceros, and other enormous quadrupeds, which have since disappeared in those regions. The gold and silver mines that are found just below the surface, are signs of a very ancient revolution of the globe, but later than those that have overturned our hemisphere.

SUPPOSE America had, by some means or other, been repopled by our roving tribes, that period would be so remote, that it would still give great antiquity to the inhabitants of that hemisphere. Three or four centuries will not then be sufficient to allow, for the foundation of the empires of Mexico and Peru; for though we find

find no trace in these countries of our arts; or of the opinions and customs that prevail in other parts of the globe, yet we have found a police and a society established, inventions and practices which, though they did not shew any marks of times anterior to the deluge, yet they implied a long series of ages, subsequent to this catastrophe. For, though in Mexico, as in Egypt, a country surrounded with waters, mountains, and other unfurmountable obstacles, must have forced the men inclosed in them, after some time to unite, notwithstanding they might at first have lived in a state of hostility and continual bloody wars; yet it was only in process of time, that they could invent and establish a worship and a legislation, which they could not, possibly, have borrowed from remote times or countries. The single art of speech, and that of writing, though but in hieroglyphics, would require more ages to perfect an unconnected nation in, that must have invented both, than would be necessary of days to perfect a child in both. Ages bear not the same proportion to the whole race, as years do to individuals. The former is to occupy a vast field, both as to space and duration, while the other has only some moments or instants of time to fill up, or rather to run over. The likeness and uniformity observable in the features and manners of the American nations, plainly shew that they are not so ancient, as those of our continent, which differ so much from each other; but at the same time, this circumstance seems to confirm that they did not originate from any distant hemisphere, with which they have no kind of affinity, that can indicate an immediate descent.

Whatever may be the case with regard to their origin or their antiquity, which are both uncertain, a more interesting object of inquiry, perhaps, is to de-

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Comparison between civilized people and savages.

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termine whether these untutored nations are more or less happy than our civilized people. Let us, therefore, examine whether the condition of rude man left to mere animal instinct, whose day which is spent in hunting, feeding, producing his species, and reposing himself, is the model of all the rest of his days, is better or worse than the condition of that wonderful being, whose bed is made of down, and who to clothe himself, fabricates the thread of the silk worm, has exchanged his cave his original abode, for a palace, and has varied his indulgences and his wants in a thousand different ways.

It is in the nature of man that we must look for his source of happiness. What does he want to be as happy as he can be? Present subsistence; and, if he thinks of futurity, the hopes and certainty of enjoying that blessing. The savage, who has not been driven to the frigid zones, is not in want of this first of necessities. If he lays in no stores, it is because the earth and the sea are reservoirs always ready to supply his wants. Fish and game are to be had all the year, and will make up for the deficiency of the winter seasons. The savage has no close houses, or commodious fire-places; but his furs answer all the purposes of the roof, the garment and the stove. He works but for his own benefit, sleeps when he is weary, and is a stranger to watchings and restless nights. War is a matter of choice to him. Danger, like labour, is a condition of his nature, not a profession annexed to his birth, a duty he owes the society he is connected with, not a family bondage. The savage is ferocious but not melancholy; and his countenance seldom bears the impression of those passions and disorders, that leave such shocking and fatal marks on ours. He cannot feel the want of what he does not desire, nor can he desire what he is ignorant of. Most of the conveniences of life, are remedies for evils he does not feel. Pleasures

fures are a relief to appetites, which are not excited by his sensations. He seldom experiences any of that weariness, that arises from unsatisfied desires, or that emptiness and uneasiness of mind, that is the offspring of prejudice and vanity. In a word, the savage is subject to none but natural evils.

BUT what greater happiness than this does the civilized man enjoy? His food is more wholesome and delicate than that of the savage. He has softer clothes, and a habitation better secured against the inclemencies of the weather. But the common people, who are to be the basis and object of civil society, those numbers of men who in all states bear the burden of hard labour, cannot be said to live happily either in those empires where the consequences of war, or the imperfection of the police, have reduced them to a state of slavery, or in those governments where the progress of luxury and policy have reduced them to a state of servitude. The mixed government sometimes affords some sparks of happiness, founded on a shadow of liberty; but this happiness is purchased by torrents of blood, which repel tyranny for a time only to let it fall the heavier, upon the devoted nation, sooner or later doomed to oppression. Let us but observe how Caligula and Nero have revenged the expulsion of the Tarquins and the death of Cæsar.

TYRANNY, we are told, is the work of the people, and not of kings. But if so, why do they suffer it? Why do they not repel the encroachments of despotism; and while it employs violence and artifice to enslave all the faculties of men, why do they not oppose it with all their powers? But is it lawful to murmur and complain under the rod of oppressors? Will it not exasperate and provoke the tyrant to pursue the victim to death? The cries of servitude he calls rebellion, and they are to be stifled in a dungeon, and sometimes on a

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scaffold. The man who should assert the rights of man, would perish in neglect and infamy. Tyranny, therefore, must be endured, under the name of authority.

IF so, to what outrages is not the civilized man exposed! If he is possessed of any property, he knows not how far he may call it his own, when he must divide the produce between the courtier who may attack his estate, the lawyer who must be paid for teaching him how to preserve it, the soldier who may lay it waste, and the collector who comes to levy unlimited taxes. If he has no property, how can he be assured of a permanent subsistence? What species of industry is there secured against the vicissitudes of fortune, and the encroachments of government?

IN the forests of America, should there be a scarcity in the north, the savages bend their course to the south. The wind or the sun will drive a wandering clan to more temperate climates. Between the gates and bars that shut up our civilized states, if famine, war, or pestilence should consume an empire, it is a prison where all must expect to perish in misery, or in the horrors of slaughter. The man who is unfortunately born there must endure all extortions, all the severities, that the inclemency of the seasons and the injustice of government, may bring upon him.

IN our provinces, the vassal, or free mercenary, digs and ploughs the whole year round, on lands that are not his own, and whose produce does not belong to him, and he is even happy, if his assiduous labour procures him a share of the crops, he has sown and reaped. Watched and harassed by a hard and restless landlord, who grudges him the very straw on which he rests his weary limbs, the wretch is daily exposed to diseases which, joined to his poverty, make him wish for death rather than for an expensive cure, followed by infirmities and toil.

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Whether tenant or subject, he is doubly a slave; if he has a few acres, his lord comes and gathers where he has not sown; if he is worth but a yoke of oxen or a pair of horses, he must go with them upon services; if he has nothing but his person, the prince takes him for a soldier. Every where he meets with masters, and always with oppression.

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IN our cities, the workman and the artist who have establishments are at the mercy of greedy and idle masters, who by the privilege of monopoly have purchased of government a power of making industry work for nothing, and of selling its labours at a very high price. The lower class have no more than the sight of that luxury, of which they are doubly the victims, by the watchings and fatigues it occasions them, and by the insolence of the pomp that mortifies and tramples upon them.

EVEN supposing that the dangerous labours of our quarries, mines and forges, with all the arts that are performed by fire, and that perils of navigation and commerce were less pernicious than the roving life of the savages, who live upon hunting and fishing: suppose that men who are ever lamenting the sorrows and affronts that arise merely from opinion, are less unhappy than the savages, who never shed a tear in the midst of the most excruciating tortures; there would still remain a wide difference between the fate of the civilized man, and the wild Indian, a difference entirely to the disadvantage of social life. This is the injustice that reigns in the partial distribution of fortunes and situations; an inequality which is at once the effect and the cause of oppression.

IN vain does custom, prejudice, ignorance and hard labour stupify the lower class of mankind, so as to render them insensible of their degradation; neither religion nor morality can hinder them from seeing and feeling the

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injustice of political order in the distribution of good and evil. How often have we heard the poor man expostulating with heaven, and asking what he had done, that he should deserve to be born in an indigent and dependent station ! Even if great afflictions were inseparable from the more exalted stations, which might be sufficient to balance all the advantages and all the superiority that the social state claims over the state of nature ; still the obscure man, who is unacquainted with those conflicts, sees nothing in a high rank, but the affluence which is the cause of his own poverty. He envies the rich man those pleasures to which he is so accustomed, that he has lost all relish for them. What domestic can have a real affection for his master, or what is the attachment of a servant ? Was ever any prince truly beloved by his courtiers, even when he was hated by his subjects ? If we prefer our condition to that of the savages, it is because civil life has made us incapable of bearing some natural hardships, which the savage is more exposed to, and because we are attached to some indulgences that custom has made necessary to us. Even in the vigour of life, a civilized man may accustom himself to live among savages, and return to the state of nature. We have an instance of this in that Scotchman, who was cast away on the island of Fernandez, where he lived alone, and was happy as soon as he was so taken up with supplying his wants, as to forget his own country, his language, his name, and even the utterance of words. After four years, he felt himself eased of the burden of social life : when he had lost all reflection or thought of the past, and all anxiety for the future.

LASTLY, the consciousness of independence being one of the first impressions in man, he who enjoys this primitive right, with a moral certainty of a competent subsistence,

ence, is incomparably happier than the rich man, restrained by laws, masters, prejudices and fashions, which incessantly remind him of the loss of his liberty. To compare the state of the savages to that of children, is to decide at once the question that has been so warmly debated by philosophers, concerning the advantages of the state of nature and that of social life. Children, notwithstanding the restraints of education, are in the happiest age of human life. Their habitual cheerfulness, when they are not under the master's rod, is the surest indication of the happiness they enjoy. After all, a single word may determine this great question. Let us ask the civilized man whether he is happy; and the savage whether he is unhappy. If they both answer in the negative, the dispute is at an end.

CIVILIZED nations, this parallel must certainly be mortifying to you! but you cannot too strongly feel the weight of the calamities under which you groan. The more painful this sensation is, the more will it awaken your attention to the true causes of your sufferings. You may at last be convinced that they proceed from the confusion of your opinions, from the defects of your political constitutions, and from capricious laws, which are in continual opposition to the laws of nature.

AFTER this enquiry into the moral state of the Americans, let us return to the natural state of their country. Let us see what it was before the arrival of the English, and what it is arrived to under their dominion.

THE first Europeans who went over to establish English colonies, found immense forests. The vast trees that grew up to the clouds, were so encumbered with creeping plants, that they could not be got at. The wild beasts made these woods still more inaccessible. They met only with a few savages, clothed with the skins of those monsters. The human race, thinly scattered, fled

In what state the English found North America, and what they have done there.

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from each other, or pursued only with intent to destroy. The earth seemed useless to man, and its powers were not exerted so much for his support, as in the breeding of animals, more obedient to the laws of nature. The earth produced every thing at pleasure without assistance and without direction; it yielded all its bounties with uncontrouled profusion for the benefit of all, not for the pleasures or conveniencies of one species of beings. The rivers now glided freely through the forests, now spread themselves quietly in a wide morass, whence issuing in various streams, they formed a multitude of islands, encompassed with their channels. The spring was restored from the spoils of autumn. The leaves dried and rotted at the foot of the trees, supplied them with fresh sap to enable them to shoot out new blossoms. The hollow trunks of trees afforded a retreat to prodigious flights of birds. The sea dashing against the coast, and indenting the gulphs, threw up shoals of amphibious monsters, enormous whales, crabs and turtles, that sported uncontrouled on the desert shores. There nature exerted her plastic power, incessantly producing the gigantic inhabitants of the ocean, and asserting the freedom of the earth and the sea.

BUT man appeared, and immediately changed the face of North America. He introduced symmetry, by the assistance of all the instruments of art. The impenetrable woods were instantly cleared, and made room for commodious habitations. The wild beasts were driven away, and flocks of domestic animals supplied their place; whilst thorns and briars made way for rich harvests. The waters forsook part of their domain, and were drained off into the interior parts of the land, or into the sea, by deep canals. The coasts were covered with towns, and the bays

bays with ships; and thus the new world, like the old, became subject to man. What powerful engines have raised that wonderful structure of European industry and policy? Let us resume the particulars. In the remotest part stands a solitary object, distinct from the whole, which is called Hudson's bay.

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THIS bay, of about ten degrees in length, is formed by the ocean in the distant and northern parts of America. The breadth of the entrance is about six leagues, but it is only to be attempted from the beginning of July to the end of September, and is even then extremely dangerous. This danger arises from mountains of ice, some of which are said to be from 15 to 18 hundred feet thick, and which having been produced by winters of five or six years duration in little gulphs constantly filled with snow, are forced out of them by north west winds, or by some other extraordinary cause. The best way of avoiding them is to keep as near as possible to the northern coast, which must necessarily be less obstructed and most free by the natural directions of both winds and currents.

Climate of
Hudson's
bay, and
customs of
its inhabi-
tants.
Trade car-
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THE north-west wind, which blows almost constantly in winter, and very often in summer, frequently raises violent storms within the bay itself, which is rendered still more dangerous by the number of shoals that are found there. Happily, however, small clusters of islands are met with at different distances, which are of a sufficient height to afford a shelter from the storm. Besides these small Archipelagos, there are in many places large piles of bare rock, but except the Alga Marina, the bay produces as few vegetables as the other northern seas. Throughout all the countries surrounding this bay, the sun never rises or sets without forming a great cone of light; this phenomenon is succeeded by the Aurora Borealis, which tinges the hemisphere

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hemisphere with coloured rays of such a brilliancy, that the splendour of them is not effaced even by that of the full moon. Notwithstanding this, there is seldom a bright sky. In spring and autumn, the air is always filled with thick fogs, and in winter, with an infinite number of small icicles.

THOUGH the heats in the summer are pretty considerable for six weeks or two months, there is seldom any thunder or lightning, owing, no doubt, to the great number of sulphureous exhalations, which, however, are sometimes set on fire by the *Aurora Borealis*; and this light flame consumes the barks of the trees, but leaves their trunks untouched.

ONE of the effects of the extreme cold or snow that prevails in this climate, is that of turning those animals white in winter, which are naturally brown or grey. Nature has bestowed upon them all, soft, long and thick furs, the hair of which falls off as the weather grows milder. In most of these quadrupeds, the feet, the tail, the ears, and generally speaking all those parts in which the circulation is slower, because they are more remote from the heart, are extremely short. Wherever they happen to be something longer, they are proportionably well covered. Under this heavy sky, all liquors become solid by freezing, and break whatever vessels contain them. Even spirit of wine loses its fluidity. It is not uncommon to see fragments of large rocks loosened and detached from the great mass, by the force of the frost. All these phenomena, are very frequent during the whole winter, are much more terrible at the new and full moon, which in these regions has an influence upon the weather, the causes of, which are not known.

IN this frozen zone, iron, lead, copper, marble, and a substance resembling sea coal, have been discovered.

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In other respects, the soil is extremely barren. Except the coasts, which are for the most part marshy, where there grows a little grass and some soft wood, the rest of the country produces nothing but very high moss and a few weak shrubs very thinly scattered.

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THIS sterility of nature extends itself to every thing. The human race are few in number, and scarce any of its individuals are above four feet high. Their heads bear the same enormous proportion to the rest of their bodies, as those of children do. The smallness of their feet makes them awkward and tottering in their gait. Small hands and a round mouth, which in Europe are reckoned a beauty, seem almost a deformity in these people; because we see nothing here but the effects of a weak organization, and of a cold, that contracts and restrains the springs of growth, and is fatal to the progress of animal as well as of vegetable life. Besides this, all their men, though they have neither hair nor beard, have the appearance of being old. This is partly occasioned by the formation of their lower lip, which is thick, fleshy, and projecting beyond the upper. Such are the Esquimaux, which inhabit not only the coast of Labrador, whence they have taken their name, but likewise all that tract of country, which extends itself from the point of Belle-Isle to the most northern parts of America.

THE inhabitants of Hudson's bay have, like the Greenlanders, a flat face with short but not flattened noses, the pupil yellow and the iris black. Their women have marks of deformity peculiar to their sex, amongst others very long and flabby breasts. This defect, which is not natural, arises from their custom of giving suck to their children till they are five or six years old. The children pull their mothers breasts with their hands, and almost suspend themselves by them.

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IT is not true that there are races of the Esquimaux entirely black, as has been since supposed, and afterwards accounted for, nor that they live under ground. How should they dig into a soil, which the cold renders harder than the stone? How is it possible they should live in caverns where they would be infallibly drowned by the first meltings of the snows? What, however, is certain and almost equally surprising is, that they spend the winter under huts run up in haste, and made of flints joined together with cements of ice, where they live without any other fire but that of a lamp hung up in the middle of the shed, for the purpose of dressing their game and the fish they feed upon. The heat of their blood, and of their breath, added to the vapour arising from this small flame, is sufficient to make their huts as warm as stoves.

THE Esquimaux dwell constantly near the sea, which supplies them with all their provisions. Both their constitution and complexion partake of the quality of their food. The flesh of the seal is their food, and the oil of the whale is their drink, which produces in them all an olive complexion, a strong smell of fish, an oily and tenacious sweat, and sometimes a sort of scaly leprosy. This last is, probably, the reason why the mothers have the same custom as the bears of licking their young.

THIS nation, weak and degraded by nature, is notwithstanding most intrepid upon a sea that is constantly dangerous. In boats made and sowed together like so many Borachios, but at the same time so well closed, that it is impossible for the water to penetrate them, they follow the shoals of herrings through the whole of their polar emigrations, and attack the whales and seals at the peril of their lives. One stroke of the whale's tail is sufficient to drown an hundred of them, and the seal is armed with teeth to devour those he cannot

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not drown, but the hunger of the Esquimaux is superior to the rage of these monsters. They have an insatiable thirst for the whale's oil, which is necessary to preserve the heat in their stomachs, and defend them from the severity of the cold. Indeed whales, men, birds, and all the quadrupeds and fish of the north are supplied by nature with a degree of fat, which prevents the muscles from freezing, and the blood from coagulating. Every thing in these arctic regions is either oily or gummy, and even the trees are resinous.

THE Esquimaux are notwithstanding subject to two fatal disorders, the scurvy and the loss of sight. The continuation of the snows on the ground, joined to the reverberation of the rays of the sun on the ice, dazzle their eyes in such a manner, that they are almost constantly obliged to wear shades made of very thin wood, through which small apertures for the light have been bored with fish-bones. Doomed to a six-months night, they never see the sun but obliquely, and then it seems rather to blind them than to give them light. Sight, the most delightful blessing of nature, is a fatal gift to them, and they are generally deprived of it when young.

A STILL more cruel evil, which is the scurvy, consumes them by slow degrees. It insinuates itself into their blood, changes, thickens and impoverishes the whole mass. The fogs of the sea, the dense and elastic air they breathe in their huts, which is shut up from all communication with the external, the continued and tedious inactivity of their winters, a mode of life alternately roving and sedentary, every thing in short, serves to increase this dreadful illness; which in a little time becomes contagious, and spreading itself throughout their habitations, is but too probably transmitted by the means of generation.

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NOTWITHSTANDING these inconveniencies, the Esquimaux is so passionately fond of his country, that no inhabitant of the most favoured spot under heaven quits it with more reluctance than he does his frozen deserts. One of the reasons of it may be that he finds it difficult to breathe in a softer and cooler climate. The sky of Amsterdam, Copenhagen, and London, though constantly obscured by thick and fetid vapours, is too clear for an Esquimaux. Perhaps too, there may be something in the change of life and manners still more contrary to the health of the savages than the climate. It is not impossible but that the indulgences of an European may be a poison to the Esquimaux.

SUCH were the inhabitants of the country discovered in 1610 by Henry Hudson. This intrepid mariner in searching after a north-west passage to the South-seas, discovered three streights, through which he hoped to find out a new way to Asia by America. He sailed boldly into the midst of the new gulph, and was preparing to explore all its parts, when his treacherous ship's company put him into the long-boat, with seven others, and left him without either arms or provisions exposed to all the dangers both of sea and land. The barbarians who refused him the necessaries of life could not, however, rob him of the honour of the discovery; and the bay which he first found out will ever be called by his name.

THE miseries of the civil war which followed soon after, had, however, made the English forget this distant country, which had nothing to attract them. More quiet times had not yet brought it to their remembrance, when Groseillers and Radisson, two French Canadians, who had met with some discontent at home, informed the English who were engaged in repairing the mischiefs of discord, by trade, of the profits arising from

from furs, and of their claim to the country that furnished them. Those who proposed the business shewed so much ability, that they were entrusted with the execution, and the first establishment they formed succeeded so well that it surpassed their own hopes as well as their promises.

THIS success alarmed the French, who were afraid, and with reason, that most of the fine furs which they got from the northern parts of Canada, would be carried to Hudson's bay. Their alarms were confirmed by the unanimous testimony of their Coureurs de Bois, who since 1656, had been four times as far as the borders of the strait. It would have been a desirable thing to have gone by the same road to attack the new colony; but the distance being thought too considerable, notwithstanding the convenience of the rivers, it was at length determined that the expedition should be made by sea. The fate of it was trusted to Groseillers and Radisson, who had been easily brought back to a regard for their country.

THESE two bold and restless men sailed from Quebec in 1682, on board two vessels badly fitted out, but on their arrival, finding themselves not strong enough to attack the enemy, they were contented with erecting a fort in the neighbourhood of that they thought to have taken. From this time there began a rivalry between the two companies, one settled at Canada, the other in England, for the exclusive trade of the bay, which was constantly fed by the disputes it gave birth to, till at last, after each of their settlements had been frequently taken by the other, all hostilities were terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, which gave up the whole to Great-Britain.

HUDSON'S bay, properly speaking is only a mart for trade. The severity of the climate having destroyed all

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all the corn sown there at different times, has frustrated every hope of agriculture, and consequently of population. Throughout the whole of this extensive coast, there are not more than ninety or a hundred soldiers, or factors, comprized in four bad forts, of which York fort is the principal. Their business is to receive the furs which the neighbouring savages bring in exchange for merchandise, of which they have been taught the value and use.

THOUGH these skins are of much more value than those which come out of countries not so far north, yet they are cheaper. The savages give ten beaver skins for a gun, two for a pound of powder, one for four pounds of lead, one for a hatchet, one for six knives, two for a pound of glass beads, six for a cloth coat, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of snuff. Combs, looking-glasses, kettles and brandy sell in proportion. As the beaver is the common measure of exchange, by another regulation as fraudulent as the first, two otter's skins and three martins are required instead of one beaver. Besides this tyranny, which is authorised, there is another which is at least tolerated, by which the savages are constantly defrauded in the quality, quantity, and measure of what is given them; and the fraud amounts to about one third of the value.

FROM this regulated system of imposition it is easy to guess that the commerce of Hudson's bay is a monopoly. The capital of the company that is in possession of it was originally no more than 241,500 livres, (10,565*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*) and has been successively increased to 2,380,500 livres. (104,146*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*) This capital brings them in an annual return of forty or fifty thousand skins of beavers or other animals, upon which they make so exorbitant a profit, that it excites the jealousy and clamours of the nation. Two thirds of these beautiful

beautiful furs are either consumed in kind in the three kingdoms, or made use of in the national manufactures. The rest are carried into Germany, where the climate makes them a valuable commodity.

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BUT it is neither the acquisition of these savage riches, nor the still greater emoluments that might be drawn from this trade, if it were made free, which have fixed the attention of England as well as that of all Europe upon this frozen continent. Hudson's bay always has been and is still looked upon as the nearest road from Europe to the East-Indies, and to the richest parts of Asia.

Whether there is a passage at Hudson's bay leading to the East Indies.

CABOT was the first who entertained an idea of a north-west passage to the South-seas; but his discoveries ended at Newfoundland. After him followed a crowd of English navigators, many of whom had the glory of giving their names to savage coasts which no mortal had ever visited before. These bold and memorable expeditions were more brilliant than really useful. The most fortunate of them did not ever furnish a fresh conjecture any way favourable to the end that was proposed. The Dutch, less frequent in their trials, less animated in the means by which they pursue them, were of course not more successful, and the whole began to be treated as a chimæra, when the discovery of Hudson's bay rekindled all the hopes that were nearly extinguished.

At this period the attempts were renewed with fresh ardour. Those that had been made before in vain by the mother country, now taken up with her own intestine commotions, were pursued by New England, whose situation was favourable to the enterprize. Still, however, for some time there were more voyages undertaken than discoveries made. The nation was a long time kept in suspense by the different accounts of

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the adventurers, who could not agree in their report; for while some supposed it no more than possible or probable, others asserted the certainty of the passage; and the accounts they gave, instead of clearing up the point, only involved it in still greater obscurity. Indeed, these accounts are so dissatisfactory and confused, and so many things concealed in them, that they together display such marks of ignorance and want of veracity, that with the utmost desire of deciding, it is impossible to build any thing like a solid judgment upon testimonies so suspicious. At length, the famous expedition of 1746 threw some kind of light upon a point which had remained enveloped in darkness for two centuries past. But upon what grounds have the later navigators taken up better hopes? What are the experiments on which they found their conjectures? Let us proceed to give an account of their arguments. There are three facts in natural history, which henceforward must be taken for granted. The first is, that the tides come from the ocean, and that they extend more or less into the other seas, in proportion as their channels communicate with the great reservoirs by larger or smaller openings; whence it follows, that this periodical motion is scarce perceptible in the Mediterranean, in the Baltic, and in other gulphs of the same nature. A second matter of fact is, that the tides are much later and much weaker in places more remote from the ocean, than in those which are nearer to it. The third fact is, that violent winds, which blow in a direction with the tides, make them rise above their ordinary boundaries, and that those which blow in a contrary direction retard the motion of the tides, at the same time that they diminish their swell.

From these principles, it is most certain that if Hudson's bay were no more than a gulph inclosed between

two continents, and had no communication but with the Atlantic, the tides in it would be very inconsiderable; they would be weaker in proportion as they were further removed from the source, and they would be much less strong wherever they had to resist opposite winds. But it is proved by observations made with the greatest skill and precision, that the tides are very high throughout the whole of the bay. It is certain that they are higher towards the bottom than even at the very mouth of the bay, or at least in the neighbourhood of it. It is proved that even this height increases whenever the winds blow from a corner opposite to the strait; it is, therefore, certain, that Hudson's bay has a communication with the ocean, besides that which has been already found out.

THOSE who have endeavoured to explain these very striking facts, by the supposition of a communication of Hudson's bay with Baffin's bay, or with Davis's straits, are evidently mistaken. They would not scruple to allow it, if they only considered that the tides are much lower in Davis's straits, and in Baffin's bay, than in Hudson's.

BUT if the tides in Hudson's bay can come neither from the Atlantic ocean, nor from any other northern sea, in which they are constantly much weaker, it follows that they must come from some part in the South-sea. And this is still further apparent from another leading fact, which is, that the highest tides ever observed upon these coasts are always occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow directly against the mouth of the straits.

HAVING thus determined, as much as the nature of the subject will permit, the existence of this passage so long and so vainly wished for, the next point is to find out in what part of the bay it is to be expected. Every

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thing inclines us to think that the attempts hitherto made, without either choice or method, ought to be directed towards Welcome bay, on the western coast. First, the bottom of the sea is visible there at the depth of about eleven fathom, which is an evident sign that the water comes from some ocean, as such a transparency is incompatible either with the waters discharged from rivers, or with melted snow or rain. Secondly, the currents keep this place always free from ice, whilst all the rest of the bay is covered with it; and their violence cannot be accounted for but by supposing them to come from some western sea. Lastly, the whales who towards the latter season always go in search of the warmest climates, are found in great abundance in these parts towards the end of the summer, which would seem to indicate that they have a way of going thence to the south seas, not to the northern ocean.

It is probable, that the passage is very short. All the rivers that empty themselves into the western coast of Hudson's bay are small and flow, which seems to prove that they do not come from afar; and that consequently the lands which part the two seas are of a small extent. This argument is strengthened by the height and regularity of the tides. Wherever there is no other difference between the times of the ebb and flow, but that which is occasioned by the retarded progression of the moon in her return to the meridian, it is a certain sign that the ocean whence those tides come is very near. If the passage is short, and not very far to the north, as every thing seems to promise, we may also presume that it is not very difficult. The rapidity of the currents observable in these latitudes, which do not allow any cakes of ice to continue in them, cannot but give some weight to this conjecture.

THE discoveries that still remain to be made are of so much importance, that it would be folly to give them up. If the passage so long sought for was once found, a communication would be opened between parts of the globe, which hitherto seem to have been separated by nature from each other. They would soon be extended to the continent of the south seas, and to all the numerous islands scattered upon that immense ocean. The intercourse which has subsisted nearly for three centuries between the commercial nations of Europe, and the most remote parts of India, being happily freed from the inconveniencies of a long navigation, would be much brisker, more constant and more advantageous. It is not to be doubted but the English would be desirous of securing an exclusive enjoyment of the fruits of their activity and expences. This wish would certainly be very natural, and would be very powerfully supported. But as the advantages obtained would be of such a nature, that it would be impossible always to preserve the sole possession of it, we may venture to foretell that all nations must in time become partakers of it with them. Whenever this happens, both the streights of Magellan and Cape Horn will be entirely deserted, and the Cape of Good Hope much less frequented. Whatever the consequences of the discovery may be, it is equally for the interest and dignity of Great-Britain to pursue her attempts, till they are either crowned with success, or the impossibility of succeeding is fully demonstrated. The resolution she has already taken in 1745 of promising a considerable reward, to the seamen who shall make this important discovery, though it be an equal proof of the wisdom and generosity of her councils, is not alone sufficient to attain the end supposed. The English ministry cannot be ignorant that all the efforts made either by government,

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vernment, or individuals, will prove abortive, till such time as the trade to Hudson's bay shall be entirely free. The company in whose hands it has been ever since 1670, not content with neglecting the chief object of its institution, by taking no steps itself for the discovery of the North-west passage, has thrown every impediment in the way of those who from love of fame, or other motives, have been prompted to this great undertaking. Nothing can ever alter this iniquitous spirit, for it is the very spirit of monopoly.

Descripti-
on of New-
foundland.

HAPPILY the exclusive privilege which prevails at Hudson's bay, and seems to exclude all nations from the means of acquiring knowledge and riches, does not extend its oppression to Newfoundland. This island, situated between 46 and 52 degrees of north latitude, is separated from coast of Labrador only by a canal of moderate breadth, known by the name of Belleisle streights. It is of a triangular form, and a little more than three hundred leagues in circumference. We can only speak by conjecture of the inland parts of it from the difficulty of penetrating far into it, and the apparent inutility of succeeding in the attempt. The little that is known of them is, that they are full of very steep rocks, mountains covered with bad wood, and some very narrow and sandy valleys. These inaccessible places are stocked with deer, which multiply with the greater ease, from the security of their situation. No savages have ever been seen there except some Esquimaux, who come over from the continent in the hunting season. The coast abounds with creeks, roads and harbours; is sometimes covered with moss, but more commonly with small pebbles, which seem as if they had been placed there with design, for the purpose of drying the fish caught in the neighbourhood. In all the open places,
where

where the flat stones reflect the sun's rays, the heat is excessive. The rest of the country is intensely cold; less so however from its situation, than from the heights, the forests, the winds, and above all the vast mountains of ice which come out of the northern seas, and are stopped on these coasts. The sky towards the north and western parts is constantly serene, it is much less so towards the east and south, both of them being too near the great bank, which is enveloped in a perpetual fog.

THIS island was originally discovered in 1497, by the Venitian Cabot, at that time in the service of England, who made no settlement there. It was presumed from the several voyages made after this, with a view of examining what advantages might be derived from it, that it was fit for nothing but the cod fishery, which is very common in that sea. Accordingly the English used to send out at first small vessels in the spring, which returned again in Autumn, with their freight of fish, both salt and fresh. The consumption of this article became almost universal, and there was a great demand for it, particularly among the Roman catholics. The English availed themselves of this superstition, to enrich themselves at the expence of the clergy, who had formerly drawn their wealth from England; and thought of forming settlements there. The first that were established at great intervals from one another, were unsuccessful, and were all soon forsaken after they were founded. The first that acquired any permanency was in 1608, the success of which raised such a spirit of emulation, that within forty years, all the space between Conception bay, and cape Ras, was peopled by a colony amounting to above four thousand souls. Those who were employed in the fishery, being forced both from the nature of their occupations, and that of the soil to

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live at a distance from each other, cut paths of communication through the woods. Their general rendezvous was at St. John's, where in an excellent harbour, protected by two mountains at a very small distance from each other, and large enough to contain above two hundred ships, they used to meet with merchantmen from the mother country, who carried off the produce of their fishery, and gave them other necessaries in exchange for it.

THE French did not wait for this prosperity of the English trade, to turn their thoughts to Newfoundland. They had for a long time frequented the southern parts of the island, where the Malouins in particular came every year to a place they had called the *Petit Nord*. After this some of them fixed without order upon the coast from cape Ray to Chapeau Rouge, and at length they became numerous enough to form something like a town in the bay of Placentia, where they had every convenience that could make their fishery successful.

BEFORE the bay is a road of about a league and a half in breadth, not however sufficiently sheltered from the N. N. W. winds, which blow there with extreme violence. The streight which forms the entrance of the bay is so confined by rocks, that only one vessel can enter at a time, and even that must be towed in. The bay itself is about eighteen leagues long, and at the extremity of it there is an exceeding safe harbour which holds 150 ships. Notwithstanding the advantage of such a position for securing to France the whole fishery of the southern coast of Newfoundland, yet the court of Versailles paid very little attention to it. It was not till 1687 that a small fort was built at the mouth of the streight, in which a garrison was placed of about fifty men.

TILL this period, the inhabitants whom necessity had fixed upon this barren and savage coast, had been happily forgotten;

forgotten; but from that time began a system of oppression which continued increasing every day, from the rapaciousness of the successive governors. This tyranny, by which the colonists were prevented from acquiring that degree of competency that was necessary, to enable them to pursue their labours with success, must also hinder them from increasing their numbers. The French fishery, therefore, could never prosper as that of the English. Notwithstanding this, Great Britain did not forget at the treaty of Utrecht, the inroads that had so often been made upon their territories by their enterprising neighbours, who, supported by the Canadians accustomed to expeditions and to the fatigues of the chase, trained up in the art of bush-fighting, and exercised in sudden attacks, had several times carried devastation into her settlements. This was sufficient to induce her to demand the entire possession of the island, and the misfortunes of the times obliged the French to submit to this sacrifice; not however without reserving to themselves not only the right of fishing on one part of the island, but also on the Great Bank, which was considered as belonging to it.

THE fish which makes these latitudes so famous, is the cod. They are never above three feet long, and often less, but there are none in the whole ocean whose mouth is so large in proportion to their size, or who are so voracious. Broken pieces of earthen ware, iron and glass are often found in their bellies. The stomach, indeed, does not digest these hard substances, as it hath long been thought, but it hath the power of inverting itself, like a pocket, and thus discharges whatever loads it.

Fisheries
established
at New-
foundland.

THE cod fish is found in the northern seas of Europe. The fishery is carried on by thirty English, sixty French, and 150 Dutch vessels, one with another from 80 to 100 tons burden. Their competitors are the Icelanders, and especially

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especially the Norwegians. The latter are employed before the fishing season, in collecting upon the coast the eggs of the cod, which is a bait necessary to catch pilchards. They sell, *communibus annis*, from twenty to twenty-two thousand tons of this fish, at nine livres (7s. 10d. halfp.) per ton. If it could be disposed of, a great deal more would be caught; for an able naturalist, who has had the patience to count the eggs of one single cod, has found 9,344,000 of them. This profusion of nature must still be increased at Newfoundland, where the cod fish is found in infinitely greater plenty.

THE fish of Newfoundland is also more delicate, though not so white; but it is not an object of trade when fresh, and only serves for the food of those who are employed on the fishery. When it is salted and dried, or only salted, it becomes a useful article to a great part of Europe and America. That which is only salted is called green cod, and is caught upon the great bank.

THIS slip of land is one of those mountains formed under water by the earth, which the sea is continually washing away from the continent. Both its extremities terminate so much in a point, that it is difficult to assign the precise extent of it, but it is generally reckoned to be 160 leagues long and 90 broad. Towards the middle of it on the European side is a kind of bay, which has been called the ditch. Throughout all this space, the depth of water is very different; in some places there are only five, in others above sixty fathom. The sun scarce ever shows itself there, and the sky is generally covered with a thick cold fog. The waves are always agitated, and the winds always impetuous around it, which must be owing to the sea being irregularly driven forward by currents, which bear sometimes on

one side, sometimes on the other, and strike against the borders which are every where perpendicular, and repel them with equal violence. This is most likely to be the true cause, because on the bank itself, at some distance from the coast, it is as quiet as in a bay, except when there happens to be a forced wind which comes from a greater distance.

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FROM the middle of July to the latter end of August there is no cod found either upon the great bank or any of the small ones near it; but all the rest of the year the fishery is carried on. The ships employed in it are commonly from 50 to 150 tons, and carry not less than twelve or more than twenty-five men aboard. These fishermen are provided with lines, and before they set to work, catch a fish called the caplin, which is a bait for the cod.

PREVIOUS to their entering upon the fishery, they build a gallery on the outside of the ship, which reaches from the main mast to the stern, and sometimes the whole length of it. This gallery is furnished with barrels, of which the top is beaten out. The fishermen place themselves within these, and are sheltered from the weather by a pitched covering fastened to the barrels. As soon as they catch a cod, they cut out its tongue, and give it to one of the boys to carry to a person appointed for the purpose, who immediately strikes off the head, plucks out the liver and entrails, and then lets it fall through a small hatchway between the decks; when another man takes it, and draws out the bone as far as the navel, and then lets it sink through another hatchway into the hold; where it is salted and ranged in piles. The person who salts it, is attentive to leave salt enough between the rows of fish which form the piles, to prevent their touching each other, and yet not to leave too much, as either extreme would spoil the cod.

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IN the right of nature, the fishing upon the great bank ought to have been common to all mankind; notwithstanding which the two powers who have colonies in North America, have made very little difficulty of appropriating it to themselves; and Spain, who alone made any claim to it, and who from the number of her monks might have pleaded the necessity of asserting it, entirely gave up the matter at the last peace; since which time the English and French are the only nations who frequent these latitudes.

IN 1768, France sent out 145 ships, the expence of which is valued at 2,547,000 livres, (111,431*l.* 5*s.*) These vessels which carried in all 8,830 tons, were manned by 1700 men, who upon an average, and according to calculations ascertained by being often repeated, must have caught each 700 fish; so that the whole of the fishery must have produced 1,190,000.

THESE cod are divided into three separate classes, the first consists of those which are twenty four inches in length or upwards, the second comprehends those which measure from nineteen to twenty-four, and the third takes in all that are under nineteen-inches. If the fishery has yielded as it commonly does two fifths of good fish, two fifths of moderate fish, and one fifth of bad, and if the fish has been sold at the common price, which is 150 livres (6*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*) the hundred weight, the produce of the whole fishery will amount to 1,050,000 livres (45,937*l.* 10*s.*). The hundred weight is composed of 136 cod of the first quality, and of 272 of the second; which two sorts generally sell for 180 livres (7*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*) the hundred. Only 136 cod are required to make up the hundred weight of the third class, but this hundred weight sells only for one third of the other, and is worth only 60 livres, (2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*) when the first

is worth 180 livres, (7*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*). Consequently the 1,190,000 cod really caught and reduced in this manner, make only 700,000 cod, which at 150 livres (6*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*) the hundred weight, which is the mean price of the three sorts of fish, will produce only 1,050,000 livres (45,937*l.* 10*s.*). Out of this the crew must receive for their share, which is one fifth, 210,000 livres; (9,187*l.* 10*s.*); consequently there remains only 840,000 livres (36,750*l.*) profit for the undertakers. This is not sufficient, as will be easily made evident. First we must deduct the expences of unloading, which, for the 145 ships, cannot be reckoned at less than 8,700 livres, (380*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*). The insurance of 2,547,000 livres, (111,431*l.* 5*s.*), at five per cent. must amount to 127,350 livres, (5,571*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*). As much also must be deducted for the interest of the money. The value of the ships must be estimated at two thirds of the capital advanced, and will therefore be 1,698,000 livres, (74,287*l.* 10*s.*). If we allow no more than five per cent. for the annual repair of the ships, we shall still be obliged to subtract 84,900 livres (3,714*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) from the profits. All these sums added together make a loss of 357,000 livres, (15,631*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*) which being assessed upon a capital of 2,547,000 livres, (111,431*l.* 5*s.*) amounts to a loss of 14 livres and 6 deniers (12*s.* 3*d.* farth.) per cent.

THOSE who think this loss may be compensated by the oil extracted from the cod's liver, and by the tongues and bowels which are likewise salted and sold, will find themselves much mistaken, as these trifling articles are scarce sufficient to pay the salaries of the captains, and the duties laid upon the commissions of sale.

THE French ministry must, therefore, either absolutely give up the fishery of the green cod, which is consumed

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sumed in the capital, and in the northern provinces of France, or must take off the enormous duties which are at present imposed upon this kind of consumption. If they delay much longer to sacrifice this insignificant portion of the public revenue to so valuable a branch of trade, they will soon have the mortification to see the revenue disappear together with the trade that produced it. The habit of trading, the hopes of amendment, the aversion the traders have for selling their ships and stock under prime cost; these are the only motives that induce them still to continue the cod fishery; motives which must certainly have an end, and if we may judge from the general appearance of dissatisfaction, that end is not very far off.

THE English, the produce of whose fishery is subject to no tax, have not the same reasons for giving it up. They have also another advantage, which is, that not coming from Europe, as their competitors do, but only from Newfoundland or other places almost as near, they can make use of very small vessels, which are easily managed, are not much raised above the water, and where sails may be brought level with the deck, so that being very little exposed even to the most violent winds, their work is seldom interrupted by the roughness of the weather. Besides, they do not, as other seamen, lose their time in procuring baits, which they bring along with them. In a word, their sailors are more inured to the fatigues, more accustomed to the cold, and more ready at the business.

THE English, however, attend very little to the fishery of the green cod; because they have no mart for disposing of it. In this branch they do not sell half so much as their rivals. As their cod is prepared with very little care, they seldom make up a complete cargo of it. For fear of its spoiling, they commonly quit the

Great

Great Bank, with two thirds and very often with not more than half their lading, which they sell to the Spaniards and Portuguese, and amongst their own countrymen. But they make themselves amends for this trifling exportation of the green cod, by the great superiority they have acquired in all markets for the dry cod.

THIS branch of trade is carried on in two different ways. That which is called the Wandering Fishery, belongs to vessels which sail every year from Europe to Newfoundland, at the end of March, or in April. As they come near the island, they frequently meet with a quantity of ice, which the northern currents push towards the south, which is broken to pieces by repeated shocks, and melts sooner or later at the return of the heats. These cakes of ice are frequently a league in circumference; they are as high as the loftiest mountains, and reach to above sixty or eighty fathoms under water. When they are joined to lesser pieces, they sometimes occupy a space of a hundred leagues in length, and twenty-five or thirty in breadth. Interest, which obliges the mariners to come to their landings as soon as possible, that they may chuse the harbours most favourable to the fishery, makes them brave the rigour of the seasons and of the elements, which all conspire against human industry. Neither the most formidable rampart erected by military art, nor the dreadful cannonade of a besieged town, nor the terrors of the most skilful and obstinate sea-fight require so much intrepidity and experience to encounter, as do these enormous floating bulwarks which the sea opposes to those small fleets of fishermen. But the most insatiable of all passions, the thirst of gold, surmounts every obstacle, and carries the mariner across these mountains of ice to the spot where the ships are to take in their loading.

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THE first thing to be done after landing is to cut wood and erect scaffolds. These labours employ every body. When they are finished, the company divide; one half of the crew stays ashore to cure the fish, and the other goes on board in small boats, with three men in those which are intended for the fishery of the Caplin, and four for the cod. These last, which are the more numerous, sail before it is light, generally at the distance of three, four, or five leagues from the coast, and return in the evening to the scaffolds near the sea-side, where they deposite the produce of the day.

WHEN one man has taken off the cod's head and emptied the body, he gives it to another, who slices it and puts it in salt, where it remains eight or ten days. After it has been well washed, it is laid on gravel, where it is left till it is quite dry. It is then heaped up in piles, and left for some days to exsude. It is then again laid on the strand, where it continues drying, and takes the colour we see it have in Europe.

THERE are no fatigues whatever to be compared with the labours of this fishery, which hardly leave those who work at it four hours rest in the night. Happily, the salubrity of the climate keeps up the health of the people against such severe trials; and these labours would be thought nothing of, if they were rewarded by the produce.

BUT there are some harbours where the strand is at so great a distance from the sea, that a great deal of time is lost in getting to them; and others, in which the bottom is of solid rock, and without Varec, so that the fish do not frequent them. There are others again, where the fish grow yellow from a mixture of fresh water with the salt; and some, in which it is burned up by the reverbération of the sun's rays reflected from the mountains.

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Even in the most favourable harbours, the people are not always sure of a successful fishery. The fish cannot abound equally in all parts, it is sometimes found to the north, sometimes to the south, and at other times in the middle of the coast, according as it is driven by the winds or attracted by the Caplin. The fishermen, who happen to be remote from the places where the fish more usually frequent, are very unfortunate, for their expences are all thrown away by the impossibility of following the fish with all that is requisite for the fishery.

THE fishery ends about the beginning of September, because at that time the sun is no longer powerful enough to dry the fish; but when it has been successful, the managers give over before that time, and make the best of their way either to the Caribbees, or to the Roman catholic states in Europe, that they may not be deprived of the advantages of the first market, which might be lost by an over stock.

IN 1768, France sent out on this trade 114 vessels, carrying in all 15,590 tons; the prime cost of which, together with the first expences of setting out, had amounted to 5,661,000 livres. (247,668*l.* 15*s.*) The united crews, half of which were employed in taking the fish, and the other half in curing it, consisted of 8,022 men. Every fisherman must have taken for his share 6000 cod, and consequently, the produce of the whole must have been 24,066,000 cod. Experience shews that there are 125 cod to each quintal. Consequently 24,066,000 must have made 162,528 quintals. Each quintal upon an average, sold at 16 livres, 9 sols, and six deniers, (about 14*s.* 5*d.*) which makes for the whole sale 3,174,305 livres, 8 sols. (138,875*l.* 17*s.* 2*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.) As every hundred quintal of cod yields one barrel of oil, 192,528 quintals must have yielded 1925 barrels,

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which at 120 livres (5*l.* 5*s.*) a barrel, makes 231,000 livres, (10,106*l.* 5*s.*) Add to these, the profits of freight made by the ships in returning home from the ports where they sold their cargoes, which are estimated at 198,000 livres, (8,662*l.* 10*s.*) and the total profits of the fishery will not be found to have amounted to more than 3,603,305 livres, 8 sols. (157,644*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$.)

We may spare our readers a detail of the expenses of unloading, which are as troublesome in their minuteness as in their insignificance. The calculations of these have been made with the greatest care and attention, and the accounts confirmed by very intelligent and disinterested men, who from their professions must have been the proper judges of this matter. They amount in the whole to 695,680 livres, 17 sols, 6 deniers, (30,436*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.*) so that the net produce of the fishery amounted only to 2,907,624 livres, 10 sols, 6 deniers, (127,208*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.)

FROM these profits, the insurance money must be deducted, which at 6 per cent. upon a capital of 5,661,000 livres, (247,668*l.* 15*s.*) amounts to 339,660 livres, (14,860*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*) We must also reckon the interest of the money, making at 5 per cent. 283,050 livres, (12,383*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*) Neither must we omit the repairs of the shipping, the prime cost of which making half the whole capital, must be set down at 2,830,500 livres: (123,834*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) these repairs therefore which cannot be reckoned at less than 6 per cent. must amount to 141,525 livres, (6,191*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.) Admitting all these circumstances, which, indeed, cannot be called in question, it follows that the French have lost upon this in 1768; 687,110 livres, 9 sols, 6 deniers, (30,061*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*) and consequently 12 livres 2 sols, 9 deniers, (10*s.* 7*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$) per cent. of their capital.

SUCH

SUCH losses, which unfortunately have been but too often repeated, will wean the nation more and more from this ruinous branch of trade. Individuals who still carry it on, will soon give it up; and it is even probable, that in imitation of the English, they would have done so already, if like them they had been able to make themselves amends by the stationary fishery.

By stationary fishery, we are to understand that which is made by the Europeans who have settlements on those coasts of America where the cod is most plentiful. It is infinitely more profitable than the wandering fishery, because it requires much less expence, and may be continued much longer. These advantages the French enjoyed as long as they remained peaceable possessors of Acadia, Cape Breton, Canada, and part of Newfoundland. They have lost them one after another by the bad policy of government, and from the wreck of these riches, have only preserved a right of salting and drying their fish to the north of Newfoundland, from cape Bona Vista to Point Rich. All the stated establishments that are left them by the peace of 1763, are reduced to the island of St. Peters, and the two islands of Miquelon, which they are not even at liberty to build fortifications upon. There are 800 inhabitants at St. Peters, not more than one hundred at great Miquelon, and only one family on the smaller. The fishery which is extremely convenient upon the two first, is entirely impracticable on the lesser island, but this last supplies them both with wood, and particularly St. Peters, which has none of its own. They are however made amends for this deficiency at St. Peters, by an excellent harbour, which indeed is the only one in this small Archipelago. In 1768, they took 24,390 quintals of cod, but this quantity will not much increase, because the English not only refuse the French the liber-

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ty of fishing in the narrow canal, which separates these islands from the southern coasts of Newfoundland, but have even seized some of the sloops which attempted it.

THIS severity, which is not warranted by treaty, and only maintained by force, is rendered still more odious by the extensiveness of their own possessions, which reach to all the islands where the fish is to be found. Their principal settlement is at Newfoundland, where there are about 8000 English who are all employed in the fishery. No more than nine or ten ships a year are sent out from the mother country for this purpose; and there are some few more which engage in other articles of commerce, but the greater part only exchange the commodities of Europe for fish, or carry off the fruit of the industry of the inhabitants.

BEFORE 1755, the fisheries of the two rival nations were nearly equal, from their own accounts, with this difference only, that France on account of its population and religion consumed more at home, and sold less abroad; but since she has lost her possessions in North America, one year with another, the two fisheries, that is the stationary and the wandering united, have not yielded more than 216,918 quintals of dry cod, which is barely sufficient for the consumption of its southern provinces at home, and of course admits of no exportation to the colonies.

IT may be asserted that the rival nation, on the contrary, has increased its fishery two thirds since its conquests, making in all 651,114 quintals, the profits of which, valuing each quintal at no more than 14 livres, (12s. 3d.) a difference owing to its being cured with less care than the French fish, will amount to 9,115,596 livres, (398,807l. 6s. 6d.) One fourth of this is sufficient for the consumption of Great-Britain and her colonies;

colonies; consequently what is sold in Spain, Portugal, and all the sugar islands amounts to a sum of 6,836,697 livres (299,105*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* halfpenny.) returned to the mother country, either in specie or commodities. This object of exportation would have been still more considerable, if when the English made the conquest of Cape Breton and St. John's, they had not been so inhuman as to drive out the French whom they found settled there; who have never yet been replaced, and, probably, never will. The same bad policy has also been followed in Nova Scotia.

NOVA SCOTIA, by which is at present to be understood all the coast of 300 leagues in length, contained between the limits of New England and the south coast of the river St. Lawrence, seemed at first to have comprehended only the great triangular peninsula, lying nearly in the middle of this space. This peninsula, which the French called Acadia, is extremely well situated for the ships which come from the Caribbees to water at. It offers them a great number of excellent ports in which ships may enter and go out of with all winds. There is a great quantity of cod upon the coast, and still more upon small banks at the distance of a few leagues. The soil which is very gravelly, is extremely convenient for drying it; it abounds besides with good wood, and land fit for several sorts of cultivation, and extremely well situated for the fur trade of the neighbouring continent. Though this climate is in the temperate zone, the winters however are long and severe, and they are followed by sudden and excessive heats, to which generally succeed very thick fogs, which last a long time. These circumstances makes this rather a disagreeable country, though it cannot be reckoned an unwholesome one.

The French give up Nova Scotia to England, after having been a long time in possession of it themselves.

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It was in 1604 that the French settled in Acadia, four years before they had built a single hut in Canada. Instead of settling towards the east of the peninsula, where they would have had larger seas, an easy navigation, and plenty of cod, they chose a small bay, afterwards called the French bay, which had none of these advantages. It has been said, that they were induced by the beauty of Port-Royal, where a thousand ships may ride in safety from every wind, with an excellent bottom, and at all times four or five fathom of water, and eighteen at the entrance. It is most probable that the founders of this colony were led to chuse this situation, from its vicinity to the countries abounding in furs, of which the exclusive trade had been granted to them. This conjecture is confirmed by the following circumstance: that both the first settlers, and those who succeeded them, took the utmost pains to divert the attention of their countrymen, whom restlessness or necessity brought afterwards into these regions, from the clearing of the woods, the breeding of cattle from fishing and from every kind of culture; in order to attach them to the less stable pursuits of hunting and trafficking with the savages.

THE mischiefs arising from a false system of administration, at length discovered the fatal effects of exclusive charters. It would be an insult to the truth and dignity of history to say that this happened in France from a juster attention to the common rights of the nation, at a time when these rights were most openly violated. This sacred tie, which only can secure the safety of the people, while it gives a sanction to the power of kings, was never known in France. But in the most absolute governments a spirit of ambition sometimes effects what in equitable and moderate ones is done from principles of justice. The ministers of Lewis
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the XIVth, who wished to make their master respectable that they might reflect some dignity on themselves, perceived that they should not succeed without the support of riches; and that a people to whom nature has not given any mines, cannot acquire wealth but by agriculture and commerce. Both these resources had been hitherto choaked up in the colonies by the restraints laid upon all things from a mistaken policy. These impediments were at last removed; but Acadia either knew not how, or was not able to make use of this liberty.

THIS colony was yet in its infancy, when the settlement which has since become so famous under the name of New-England, was first made in its neighbourhood. The rapid success of cultivation in this new colony did not much attract the notice of the French. This kind of prosperity did not excite any jealousy between the two nations. But when they began to suspect that there was likely to be a competition for the beaver and fur trade, they endeavoured to secure to themselves the sole property of it; and they accordingly succeeded.

AT their first arrival in Acadia, they had found the peninsula, as well as the forests of the neighbouring continent, peopled with small savage nations who went under the general name of Abenakies. Though equally fond of war as other savage nations, they were, however, more sociable in their manners. The missionaries easily insinuating themselves amongst them, had so far inculcated their tenets, as to make enthusiasts of them. At the same time that they taught them their religion, they inspired them with that hatred, which they themselves entertained for the English name. This prepossession formed a fundamental article of their new worship, being that which most exerted its influence on their senses, and the only one that favoured their passion for

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war; they adopted it with all the rage that was natural to them. They not only refused to make any kind of exchange with the English, but also frequently invaded and plundered their settlements. Their attacks became more frequent, more obstinate and more regular, since they had chosen St. Castains, formerly captain of the regiment of Carignan, for their commander; he having settled among them, married one of their women, and conformed in every respect to their mode of life.

WHEN the English saw that all efforts either to reconcile the savages, or to destroy them in their forests were ineffectual, they fell upon Acadia, which they looked upon with reason as the only cause of all these calamities. Whenever hostilities commenced between the two mother countries, the peninsula was attacked. Having no defence from Canada, from which it was too far distant, and very little from Port-Royal, which was only surrounded by a few weak pallisadoes, it was easily subdued. It undoubtedly afforded some satisfaction to the New-Englanders, to ravage this colony and retard its progress; but still this was not sufficient to dispel the suspicions excited by a nation less formidable by her military achievements, than by the internal resources of her power. Obligated as they were, however unwillingly, to restore their conquests at each treaty of peace, they waited with impatience till Great Britain should acquire such a superiority as would enable her to dispense with this restitution. The end of the war on account of the Spanish succession brought on this decisive moment; and the court of Versailles was deprived of a possession of which it had never known the importance.

THE ardour which the English had shewn for the possession of this territory did not manifest itself afterwards

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in the care they took to maintain or to improve it. Having built a very slight fortification at Port-Royal, which had taken the name of Annapolis, in honour of queen Anne, they contented themselves with putting a very small garrison in it. The indifference shewn by the government infected the nation, a circumstance not usual in a free country. Not more than five English families came over to Acadia, which still remained inhabited by the first colonists; who were only persuaded to stay upon a promise made them of never being compelled to bear arms against their antient country. Such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country. Cherished by the government, respected by foreign nations, and attached to their king by a series of prosperities which had both aggrandized and rendered them illustrious, they were transported with that love for their native country which arises from success. They considered it as glorious to bear the name of Frenchmen, and could not think of foregoing the title. The Acadians, therefore, who, in submitting to a new yoke, had sworn never to bear arms against their former standards, were called the French neutrals.

THERE were twelve or thirteen hundred of them settled in the capital, the rest were dispersed in the neighbouring country. No magistrate was ever set over them; and they were wholly unacquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were even exacted from them. Their new sovereign seemed to have forgotten them; and of his empire they were altogether ignorant.

HUNTING and fishing, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might still have supplied it with subsistence, had no further attraction for a simple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been

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been established in the marshes and the low lands, by repelling the sea and rivers which covered these plains, with dikes. These grounds yielded fifty for one at first, and afterwards fifteen or twenty for one at least. Wheat and oats succeeded best in them, but they likewise produced rye, barley, and maize. There were also potatoes in great plenty, the use of which was become common.

At the same time immense pasture grounds were covered with numerous flocks. They computed to the number of sixty thousand head of horned cattle; and most families had several horses, though the tillage was carried on by oxen. The habitations, built all of wood, were extremely convenient, and furnished as neatly as a substantial farmer's house in Europe. They bred a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made a variety in their food, for the most part wholesome and plentiful. Their common drink was beer and cyder, to which they sometimes added rum. Their usual cloathing was in general the produce of their own flax, or the fleeces of their own sheep. With these they made common linens and coarse cloths. If any of them had a desire for articles of greater luxury, they drew them from Annapolis or Louisbourg, and gave in exchange, corn, cattle or furs.

The neutral French had nothing else to give their neighbours, and made still fewer exchanges among themselves, because each separate family was able and had been used to provide for its wants. They, therefore, knew nothing of paper-currency, which was so common throughout the rest of North-America. Even the small quantity of specie which had slipped into the colony did not excite that activity in which consists its real value.

Their manners were of course extremely simple. There never was a cause either civil or criminal of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature established at Annapolis. Whatever little differences

ences arose from time to time among them were amicably adjusted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their pastors, who had likewise the keeping of their wills, for which and their religious services the inhabitants paid a twenty-seventh part of their harvest.

THESE were always in such plenty as to give a greater increase than there were objects for generosity. Real misery was entirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the cravings of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved as it were, before it could be felt, without ostentation on the one hand, and without meanness on the other. It was, in short, a society of brethren, every individual of which was equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all those connections of gallantry which are so often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an instance in this society of an unlawful commerce between the two sexes. This evil was prevented by early marriages; for no one passed his youth in a state of celibacy. As soon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a house, broke up the lands about it, sowed them, and supplied them with all the necessaries of life for a twelvemonth. Here he received the partner whom he had chosen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and prospered like the others. In 1749 all together made a population of eighteen thousand souls.

AT this period Great-Britain perceived of what consequence the possession of Acadia might be to her commerce. The peace, which necessarily left a great number of men without employment, furnished an opportunity, by the disbanding of the troops, for peopling and cultivating a vast and fertile territory. The British ministry

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ministry offered particular advantages to all who would go over and settle in Acadia. Every soldier, sailor, and workman was to have fifty acres of land for himself, and ten for every person he carried over in his family. All non-commissioned officers were allowed eighty for themselves, and fifty for their wives and children; ensigns 200; lieutenants 300; captains 460; and all officers of a higher rank 600; together with thirty for each of their dependents. The land was to be tax free for the first ten years, and never to pay above one livre, two sols, six deniers (about 1 s.) for fifty acres. Besides this, the government engaged to advance or reimburse the expences of passage, to build houses, to furnish all the necessary instruments for fishery or agriculture; and to defray the expences of subsistence for the first year. These encouragements determined three thousand, seven hundred and fifty persons in the month of May 1749 to go to America, rather than run the risque of starving in Europe.

THE new colony was intended to form a settlement to the south-east of Acadia, in a place which the savages had formerly called Chebucto, and the English Hallifax. This situation was preferred to several others where the soil was better, for the sake of establishing in its neighbourhood an excellent cod fishery, and fortifying one of the finest harbours in America. But as it was the spot most favourable for the chase, the English were obliged to dispute it with the Micmac Indians, who mostly frequented it. These savages defended with obstinacy a territory they held from nature; and it was not till after very great losses that the English drove them out from their possessions.

THIS war was not entirely finished, when there was some disquietude discovered among the neutral French.

A people

A people whose manners were so simple and who enjoyed such liberty, could not but perceive that it was impossible there should be any serious thoughts of settling in countries so near to them without their independence being affected by it. To this apprehension was added that of seeing their religion in danger. Their priests either heated by their own enthusiasm, or secretly instigated by the governors of Canada, persuaded them to credit every thing they chose to suggest against the English, whom they called heretics. This word, which has so powerful an influence on deluded minds, determined this happy American colony to quit their habitations and remove to New France, where they were offered lands. This resolution many of them executed immediately, without considering the consequences of it; the rest were preparing to follow as soon as they had provided for their safety. The English government, either from policy or caprice, determined to prevent them by an act of treachery, always base and cruel in those to whom power affords milder methods. Under a pretence of exacting a renewal of the oath which they had taken at the time of their becoming English subjects, they assembled those together who were not yet gone, and when they had collected them, immediately embarked them on board of ships which transported them to the other English colonies, where the greater part of them died of grief and vexation rather than want.

SUCH are the fruits of national jealousies, of that rapaciousness inherent to all governments which incessantly preys both upon mankind and upon land. What an enemy loses is reckoned a gain, what he gains, is looked upon as a loss. When a town cannot be taken, it is starved; when it cannot be maintained, it is burnt to ashes, or its foundations razed, rather than surrender.

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der a ship or a fortification, one is blown up by powder, and the other by mines. A desperate government separates its enemies from its slaves by immense deserts, to prevent the irruptions of the one, and the emigrations of the other.

THUS Spain chose rather to make a wilderness of her own country, and a grave of America, than to divide its riches with any other of the European nations. The Dutch have been guilty of every public and private crime to deprive other commercial nations of the spice trade. They have oftentimes even thrown whole cargoes into the sea, rather than they would sell them at a low price. France rather chose to give up Louisiana to the Spaniards, than to let it fall into the hands of the English; and England destroyed the French vessels to prevent their returning to France. Can we assert after this that policy and society were instituted for the happiness of mankind? Yes they were instituted to screen the wicked man, and to secure the man in power.

Present
state of
Nova
Scotia.

SINCE the emigration of a people who owed their happiness to their virtuous obscurity, Nova Scotia has been but thinly inhabited. It seems as if the envy that depopulated the country had blasted it. At least the punishment of the injustice falls upon the authors of it; for there is not a single inhabitant to be seen upon all that length of coast between the river St. Lawrence, and the peninsula; nor do the rocks, the sands and marshes with which it is at present covered, make it probable that it ever will be peopled. The cod, indeed, which abounds in some of its bays, draws every year a small number of fishermen during the season.

THERE are only three settlements in the rest of the province. Annapolis, the most ancient of them, waits for fresh inhabitants to take the place of the unhappy Frenchmen

Frenchmen who were driven from it; and it seems to promise them rich returns from the fertility of her soil.

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LUNENBURGH, the second settlement, was founded a few years ago by 800 Germans come from Halifax. At first, it did not promise much success; but is considerably improved by the unremitting industry of that warlike and wise people, who contented with defending their own territory, seldom go out of it, but to cultivate others which they are not ambitious of conquering. They have fertilized all the countries under the English dominion, wherever chance had conducted them.

HALLIFAX will always continue to be the principal place of the province; an advantage it owes to the encouragements lavished upon it by the mother country. Their expences for this settlement from its first foundation to the year 1769, amounted to more than 90,000 livres (3,937*l.* 10*s.*) per annum. Such favours were not ill bestowed upon a city, which from its situation, is the natural rendezvous of both the land and sea forces, which Great Britain sometimes thinks herself obliged to maintain in America, as well for the defence of her fisheries, and the protection of her sugar islands, as for the purpose of maintaining her connection with her northern colonies. Halifax, indeed, derives more of its splendor from the motion and activity which is constantly kept up in its ports, than either from its cultivation which is trifling, or from its fisheries which have not been considerably improved, though they consist of cod, mackerel, and the seal. It is not even in the defence it should be as a fortified town, owing to the misconduct of governors, who instead of the fortifications ordered and paid for by the mother country, have only erected a few batteries without any ditch round the city, which makes it liable to fall without resistance

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into the hands of the first enemy that attacks it. In 1757, the inhabitants of the county of Hallifax rated the value of their houses, cattle and merchandise at about 6,750,000 livres. (295,312*l.* 10*s.*) This sum, which makes about two thirds of the riches of the whole province, has not increased above one fourth since that time.

THE desire of putting a stop to this state of languor was, probably, one of the motives which induced the British government to constitute a court of admiralty for all North America, and to place the seat of it at Hallifax in 1763. Before this period, the justices of the peace used to be the judges of all violations of the act of navigation; but the partiality these magistrates used to shew in their decisions for the colony, where they were born, and which had chosen them, made their department useless, and even prejudicial to the mother country. It was presumed, that if some men of parts were sent from Europe, and well supported, they would impress more respect for their determinations. The event has justified this policy. Since that regulation, the commercial laws have been better observed; but still great inconveniencies have ensued from the distance of many provinces from the seat of this new tribunal. It is probable that to remedy these, administration will be forced to multiply the number of the courts, and disperse them in places convenient for the people to have access to them. Nova Scotia will then lose the temporary advantage it gains from being the resort of those who are come for justice; but it will, probably, find out other sources of wealth within itself. It has some, indeed, that are peculiar to it. The exceeding fine flax it produces, of which the three kingdoms are so much in want, must hasten the progress of its improvement. Nova Scotia must not, however, expect ever to vie with New England.

NEW ENGLAND, like the mother country, has signalized itself by many acts of violence; and was actuated by a like turbulent spirit. Being founded in troublesome times, its infant state was disturbed with many dreadful commotions. It was discovered in the beginning of the last century, and called North Virginia, but no Europeans settled there till the year 1608. The first colony, which was weak and ill directed, did not succeed, and for some time after there were only a few adventurers who came occasionally in the summer, built themselves temporary huts for the sake of trading with the savages, and like them, disappeared again for the rest of the year. Fanaticism which had depopulated America to the south, was destined to repeople it in the north. For at length some English Presbyterians, who had been driven from their own country, and had taken refuge in Holland, that universal asylum of liberty, resolved to found a church for their sect in a new hemisphere. They, therefore, purchased in 1621 the charter of the English North Virginia company: for they were not in such poverty as would oblige them to wait with patience until their virtues should have acquired an equable stability. Forty-one families, making in all 120 persons, set out animated by enthusiasm, which, whether founded upon error or truth, is often productive of great actions. They landed at the beginning of a very hard winter, and found a country entirely covered with wood, which offered a very melancholy prospect to men already exhausted with the fatigues of their voyage. Near one half perished either from the cold, the scurvy, or distress; the survivors were still kept alive, and inspired by that party zeal and steadiness they had contracted under the persecution of episcopal tyranny. But their courage was beginning to fail, when it was revived by the arrival of sixty savage warriors, who came to

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them in the spring, headed by their chief. Freedom seemed to exult that she had thus brought together from the extremities of the world two such different people; who immediately entered into a reciprocal alliance of friendship and protection. The old tenants assigned for ever to the new all the lands in the neighbourhood of the settlement they had formed under the name of New Plymouth; and one of the savages, who understood a little English, stayed with them to teach them how to cultivate the maize, and instruct them in the manner of fishing upon their coast.

THIS kindness enabled the colony to wait for their companions whom they expected from Europe, with seeds and all sorts of domestic animals. At first they came but slowly, but the persecution of the puritans in England increased the number of proselytes (as is always the case) to such a degree in America, that in 1630, they were obliged to divide themselves and form different settlements, of which Boston soon became the principal. These first settlers were not merely ecclesiastics, who had been driven out of their preferment for their opinions, nor those sectaries influenced by new opinions, that are so frequent among the common people. There were among them several persons of high rank, who having embraced puritanism either from motives of caprice, ambition, or even of conscience, had had precaution to secure themselves an asylum in these distant regions. They had caused houses to be built, and lands to be cleared, with a view of retiring there, if their endeavours in the cause of civil and religious liberty should prove abortive. The same fanatical spirit that had introduced anarchy into the mother country, kept the colony in a state of subordination, or rather a severity of manners, had the same effect as laws in a savage climate.

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THE inhabitants of New England lived peaceably for a long time without any regular form of policy. It was not that their charter had not authorized them to establish any mode of government they might chuse, but these enthusiasts were not agreed amongst themselves upon the plan of their republic; and government was not so much concerned about them as to urge them to secure their own tranquillity. At length they grew sensible of the necessity of a regular legislation, and this great work which virtue and genius united have never attempted but with diffidence, was boldly undertaken by blind fanaticism. It bore the stamp of the rude prejudices on which it had been formed.

THERE was in this new code a singular mixture of good and evil, of wisdom and folly. No man was allowed to have any share in the government except he was a member of the established church. Witchcraft, perjury, blasphemy, and adultery were made capital offences; and children were also punished with death, either for cursing or striking their parents. On the other hand, marriages were to be solemnized by the magistrate. The price of corn was fixed at 3 livres, 7 sols, 6 deniers (2s. 11d. $\frac{1}{2}$) per bushel. The savages who neglected to cultivate their lands were to be deprived of them by law. Europeans were forbidden under a heavy penalty to sell them any strong liquors or warlike stores. All those who were detected either in lying, or drunkenness, or dancing, were ordered to be publicly whipped. But at the same time that amusements were forbidden equally with vices and crimes, one might swear by paying a penalty of 1 livre, 2 sols, 6 deniers, (11d. $\frac{1}{4}$) and break the sabbath for 67 livres, 10 sols. (2l. 19s. 9d. $\frac{1}{2}$) It was esteemed an indulgence to be able to atone by money for a neglect of prayer, or for uttering a rash oath. But it is still more extraordinary that the wor-

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ship of images was forbidden to the puritans on pain of death, which was also inflicted on Roman Catholic priests, who should return to the colony after they had been banished; and on Quakers who should appear again after having been whipped, branded and expelled. Such was the abhorrence for these sectaries, who had themselves an aversion for every kind of cruelty, that whoever either brought one of them into the country, or harboured him but for one hour, was exposed to pay a considerable fine.

Fanaticism
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THOSE unfortunate members of the colony, who, less violent than their brethren, ventured to deny the coercive power of the magistrate in matters of religion, were persecuted with still greater rigour. This appeared equal to blasphemy to those very divines who chose rather to quit their native country than to admit the authority and rule of the episcopal hierarchy. The natural tendency of the human heart which follows independence in preference to tyranny, they subverted; for, they changed their opinions as they changed their climate; and only seemed to arrogate freedom of thought to themselves, in order to deny it to others. This system was supported by the severities of law, which attempted to put a stop to every difference in opinion, by imposing capital punishment on all who dissented. Whoever was either convicted or even suspected of entertaining sentiments of toleration, was exposed to such cruel oppressions, that they were forced to fly from their first asylum, and seek refuge in another. They found one on the same continent, and as New England had been first founded by persecution, its limits were extended by it. This severity, which a man turns against himself, or against his fellow creatures, and makes him either the victim, or the oppressor, soon exerted

itself

itself against the Quakers. They were whipped, banished, and imprisoned. The ostentatious simplicity of these new enthusiasts, who in the midst of tortures and ignominy praised God, and called for blessings upon men, inspired a reverence for their persons and opinions, and gained them a number of proselytes. This circumstance exasperated their persecutors, and hurried them on to the most atrocious acts of violence; and they caused five of them, who had returned clandestinely from banishment, to be hanged. It seemed as if the English had come to America to exercise upon their own countrymen, cruelties no less inimical than that of the Spaniards against the savage Indians. This spirit of persecution was at last suppressed by the interposition of the mother country, whence it had been carried.

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CROMWELL was no more; enthusiasm, hypocrisy, and cruelty, which composed his character, and which gave birth to factions, rebellions, and proscriptions, were now all buried with him, and England had the prospect of calmer days. Charles the second, at his restoration, had introduced amongst his subjects a social turn, a taste for convivial pleasures, gallantry, and diversions, and for all those amusements he had been engaged in while he was wandering from one court to another thro' Europe, to recover that crown which his father had lost upon a scaffold. Nothing but such a total change of manners, could possibly have secured the tranquillity of his government upon a throne marked with blood. He was one of those refined voluptuaries, whom the love of sensual pleasures sometimes excites to sentiments of compassion and humanity. Moved with the sufferings of the Quakers, he put a stop to them by a proclamation in 1661; but he was never able totally to extinguish the spirit of persecution that prevailed in America.

THE colony had placed at their head Henry Vane, the son of that Sir Henry Vane, who had had such a remark-

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able share in the disturbances of his country. This obstinate and enthusiastic young man, in every thing resembling his father, unable either to live peaceably himself, or to suffer others to remain quiet, had contrived to revive the obscure and obsolete questions of grace and free will. The disputes upon these points ran very high, and would, probably, have plunged the colony into a civil war, if several of the savage nations united had not happened at that very time to fall upon the plantations of the disputants, and to massacre great numbers of them. The colonists heated with their theological contests paid at first very little attention to this momentous loss. But the danger at length became so urgent and so general, that all took up arms. As soon as the enemy was repulsed, the colony resumed its former dissensions; and the phrenzy which they excited, broke out in 1692 in a rupture, marked with as many atrocious instances of violence as any ever recorded in history.

THERE lived in a town of New England, called Salem, two young women who were subject to convulsions, accompanied with extraordinary symptoms. Their father, minister of the church, thought that they were bewitched; and having in consequence cast his suspicions upon an Indian girl, who lived in his house, he compelled her by harsh treatment to confess that she was a witch. Other women upon hearing this, seduced by the pleasure of exciting the public attention, immediately believed that the convulsions which proceeded only from the nature of their sex, were owing to the same cause. Three citizens, pitched upon by chance, were immediately thrown into prison, accused of witchcraft, hanged, and their bodies left exposed to wild beasts and birds of prey. A few days after, sixteen other persons, together with a counsellor, who because he refused to plead

plead against them, was supposed to share in their guilt, suffered in the same manner. From this period, the imagination of the multitude was inflamed with these horrid and gloomy scenes. The innocence of youth, the infirmities of age, virgin modesty, fortune, honour, virtue, the most dignified employments of the state, nothing was sufficient to exempt from the suspicions of a people infatuated with visionary superstition. Children of ten years of age were put to death, young girls were stripped naked, and the marks of witchcraft searched for upon their bodies with the most indecent curiosity; those spots of the scurvy which age impresses upon the bodies of old men, were taken for evident signs of the infernal power. Fanaticism, cruelty and vengeance united, selected out their victims with pleasure. In default of witnesses, torments were employed to extort confessions dictated by the executioners themselves. If the magistrates, tired out with executions refused to punish, they were themselves accused of the crimes they would no longer punish; the very ministers of religion raised false witnesses against them, who made them forfeit with their lives, however late it appeared, the remorse excited in them by humanity. Dreams, apparitions, terror and consternation of every kind increased these prodigies of folly and horror. The prisons were filled, the gibbets left standing, and all the citizens involved in gloomy apprehensions. The most prudent persons quitted a country imbrued with the blood of its inhabitants; and those that remained sought for nothing but rest in the grave. In a word, nothing less than the total and immediate subversion of the colony was expected, when on a sudden, in the height of the storm, the waves subsided, and a calm ensued. All eyes were opened at once, and the excess of the evil awakened the minds which it had at first stupified. Bitter and painful

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remorse was the immediate consequence ; the mercy of God was implored by a general fast, and public prayers were offered up to ask forgiveness for the presumption of having supposed that Heaven could have been pleased with sacrifices with which it could only have been offended.

POSTERITY will, probably, never know exactly what was the cause or remedy of this dreadful disorder. It had, perhaps, its first origin in the settled melancholy, which these persecuted enthusiasts had brought with them from their own country, which had increased with the scurvy they had contracted at sea, and which had gathered fresh strength from the vapours and exhalations of a soil newly broken up, as well as from the inconveniencies and hardships inseparable from a change of climate and manner of living. The contagion, however, ceased like all other epidemical distempers, exhausted by its very communication ; as all the disorders of the imagination are dispelled in the transports of a delirium. A perfect calm succeeded this agitation ; and the puritans of New-England have never since been seized with so gloomy a fit of enthusiasm.

Severities
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laws of
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BUT though the colony had renounced the persecuting spirit which hath stained all religious sects with blood, it has preserved some remains if not of intolerance, at least, of severity, which reminds us of those melancholy days in which it took its rise. Some of its laws are still too severe.

[In support of this position the author gravely introduces the story of Polly Baker, who was brought before the magistrates and convicted the fifth time of having had a bastard child. He gives the speech she is said to have made on this occasion at full length. But as this speech is in the hands of every English reader, the translator has judged it unnecessary to swell his translation with it. The author's reasoning upon it is as follows:]

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THIS speech, however, produced an affecting change in the minds of all the audience. She was not only acquitted of either penalty or corporal punishment, but her triumph was so complete, that one of her judges married her ; so superior is the voice of reason to all the powers of studied eloquence.

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NOTWITHSTANDING this, the popular prejudice soon regained its ground, whether it be that political and social good often silences the voice of nature, when left to herself, or that, under the English government, where celibacy is not enjoined by religion, there is less excuse for an illicit commerce between the sexes than in those countries, where the nobility and the clergy, luxury on the one side, misery on the other, and above all, the scandalous example given by the court and the church, all unite in degrading the married state, and consequently in preventing many persons from entering into it.

NEW ENGLAND has some resources against bad laws in the constitution of its mother country, where the people who have the legislative power in their own hands are at liberty to correct abuses ; and it has others derived from its situation, which opens a vast field to industry and population.

THIS colony, bounded to the north by Canada, to the west by New-York, and to the east and south by Nova Scotia and the ocean, extends full three hundred miles on the borders of the sea, and upwards of fifty miles in the inland parts.

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THE clearing of the lands is not done by chance as in the other provinces. From the first they were subjected to laws which are still religiously observed. No citizen whatever has the liberty of settling even upon unoccupied land. The government which was desirous of preserving all its members from the inroads of the savages,
and

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and that they should be at hand to partake of the succours of a well-regulated society, hath ordered that whole villages should be formed at once. As soon as sixty families offer to build a church, maintain a clergyman, and pay a school-master, the general congress allot them a situation, and permit them to have two representatives in the legislative body of the colony. The district assigned them always borders upon the lands already cleared, and generally contains six thousand square acres. These new people chuse out the spot most convenient for their respective habitations, and it is usually of a square figure. The church is placed in the centre; and the colonists dividing the land among themselves, each incloses his property with a hedge. Some woods are reserved for a common. It is thus that New-England is continually aggrandizing itself, without discontinuing to make one complete and well constituted province.

THOUGH the colony is situated in the midst of the temperate zone, yet the climate is not so mild as that of some European provinces, which are under the same parallel. The winters are longer and more cold; the summers shorter and more warm. The sky is commonly clear and the rains more plentiful than lasting. The air has grown purer since its circulation has been made free by cutting down the woods; and malignant vapours, which at first carried off some of the inhabitants, are no longer complained of.

THE country is divided into four provinces, which in the beginning had no connection with one another. The necessity of maintaining an armed force against the savages obliged them to form a confederacy in 1643, at which time they took the name of the united colonies. In consequence of this league, two deputies from each establishment met in a stated place to deliberate upon

upon the common affairs of New-England, according to the instructions they had received from the assembly, by which they were sent. This association controuled in no one point the right which every individual had of acting intirely as he pleased, without either the permission or approbation of the mother country. All the submission of these provinces consisted in a mere acknowledgment of the kings of England for their sovereigns.

So slight a dependence displeased Charles the Second. The province of Massachusett's-bay, which, though the smallest, was the richest and the most populous of the four, being guilty of some misdemeanor against government, the king seized that opportunity of taking away its charter in 1684; and it remained without one till the revolution; when it received another, which, however, did not answer its claims or expectation. The crown reserved to itself the right of nominating the governor, and appointing to all military employments, and to all principal posts in the civil and juridical departments: allowing the people of the colony their legislative power, they gave the governor a negative voice and the command of the troops, which secured him a sufficient influence to enable him to maintain the prerogative of the mother country in all its force. The provinces of Connecticut and Rhode-Island by timely submission prevented the punishment that of Massachuset had incurred, and retained their original charter. That of New-Hampshire had been always regulated by the same mode of administration as the province of Massachusett's-bay. The same governor presides over the whole colony, but with regulations adapted to the constitution of each province. According to the most exact calculations, the present population of New-England is computed at four hundred thousand inhabitants, which are more numerous to the south than to the north of
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the colony, where the soil is less fertile. Among such a number of citizens, there are few proprietors wealthy enough to leave the care of their plantations to stewards or farmers, most of them are planters in easy circumstances, who live upon their estates and are busied in the labours of the field. This equality of fortune, joined to the religious principles and to the nature of the government, gives this people a more republican cast than is to be observed in the other colonies.

NONE of our best fruits have degenerated in New-England; it is even said, that the apple is improved, at least, it has multiplied exceedingly and made cyder a more common drink than in any other part of the world. All our roots and garden-stuff have had the same success; but the seeds have not thriven quite so well. Wheat is apt to be blighted, barley grows dry, and oats yield more straw than grain. In default of these the maize, which is usually consumed in making beer, is the drink of the common people. It abounds in pasturage, which are covered with numerous flocks.

THE arts, though carried to a greater degree of perfection in this colony than in any of the others, have not made near the same progress as agriculture. There are not more than four or five manufactures of any importance.

THE first which was formed was that for building of ships. It maintained for a long time some degree of reputation. The vessels which came out of this dock were in great estimation, the materials of which they were constructed, being found much less porous, and consequently less apt to split than those of the more southern provinces. Since 1730, their number are considerably diminished, because the woods for building have been little attended to, and used for other purposes. To prevent

prevent this inconvenience, it was proposed to forbid the cutting of any of them within ten miles of the sea, and we know not for what reason this law, the necessity of which was so evident, was never put in force. The distilling of rum has succeeded better than the building of ships. It was begun from the facility the New Englanders had of importing large quantities of molasses from the Caribbees. The molasses were at first used in kind for various purposes. By degrees they learnt to distil them. When made into rum, they supplied the neighbouring savages with it, as the Newfoundland fishermen did the other northern provinces, and sailors who frequented the coast of Africa. The degree of imperfection in which this art hath still remained in the colony, has not diminished the sale of it; because they have always been able to afford the rum at a very low price.

THE same reason has both supported and increased the manufacture of hats. Though limited by the regulations of the mother country to the internal consumption of the colony, the merchants have found means to surmount these obstacles, and to smuggle large quantities of them into the neighbouring settlements.

THE colony sells no cloths, but it buys very few. The fleeces of its flocks, as long though not quite so fine as the English, make coarse stuffs, which do extremely well for plain men who live in the country.

SOME Presbyterians who were driven from the north of Ireland by the persecutions either of the government or of the clergy, first taught the New Englanders to cultivate hemp and flax, and to manufacture them. The linens made of them are since become one of the great resources of the colony.

THE mother country, whose political calculations have not always coincided with the high opinion entertained

of

B O O K of her abilities, has omitted nothing to thwart these several manufactures. She did not perceive that by this oppressive conduct of the government, those of her subjects who were employed in clearing this considerable part of the new world, must be reduced to the alternative either of abandoning so good a country, or procuring from among themselves the things of general use, and of immediate necessity. Indeed, even these resources would not have been sufficient to maintain them, if they had not had the good fortune and the address to open to themselves several other channels of subsistence, the origin and progress of which we must endeavour to trace.

THE first resource they met with from without, was in the fishery. It has been encouraged to such a degree, that a regulation has taken place, by which every family who should declare that it had lived upon salt-fish for two days in the week during a whole year, should be disburdened of part of their tax. Thus commercial views enjoin abstinence from meat to the protestants, in the same manner as religion prescribes it to the catholics.

MACKAREL is caught only in the spring at the mouth of the Pentagouet, a considerable river which empties itself in Fundy bay, towards the extremity of the colony. In the very centre of the coast, and near Boston, the cod-fish is always in such plenty, that cape Cod, notwithstanding the sterility of its soil, is one of the most populous parts of the country. Not content, however, with the fish caught in its own latitudes, New England sends every year about two hundred vessels, from thirty-five to forty tons each, to the great bank, to Newfoundland, and to Cape Breton, which commonly make three voyages a season, and bring back at least a hundred thousand quintals of cod. Besides, there are larger vessels which sail from the same ports, and exchange provisions for

for the produce of the fishery of those English who are settled in these frozen and barren regions. All this cod is afterwards distributed in the southern parts of Europe and America.

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THIS is not the only article with which the British islands of the new world are supplied by New England. It furnishes them besides, horses, oxen, hogs, salt meat, butter, tallow, cheese, flour, biscuit, Indian corn, peas, fruits, cyder, hemp, flax, and woods of all kinds. The same commodities pass into the islands belonging to the other nations, sometimes openly, sometimes by smuggling, but always in lesser quantities during peace, than in war time. Honduras, Surinam, and other parts of the American continent open similar markets to New England. This province also imports wines and brandies from the Madeiras and the Azores, in exchange of cod-fish and corn.

THE ports of Italy, Spain and Portugal receive annually sixty or seventy of their ships. They go there laden with cod, wood for ship-building, naval stores, corn, and fish oil; many of them return with olive oil, salt, wine and money immediately to New England, where they land their cargoes clandestinely. By this method, they elude the customs they would be obliged to pay in Great Britain, if they went there, as in pursuance of a positive order they ought to do. The ships which do not return to the original port are sold in those where they dispose of their cargo. They have frequently no particular address, but are freighted indifferently for every merchant and every port, till they meet with a proper purchaser.

THE mother country receives from its colony yards and masts for the royal navy, planks, pot-ashes, pitch, tar, turpentine, a few furs, and in years of scarcity some corn.

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corn. These cargoes come home in ships built by her own merchants, or bought by them of dealers in ships, who build upon speculation.

BESIDES the trade New England makes of her own productions, she has monopolized great part of the conveying trade between North and South America, in consequence of which the New Englanders are looked upon as the brokers or Hollanders of that part of the world.

NOTWITHSTANDING this active and continued exertion, New England has never yet been able to free herself from debt. She has never been able to pay exactly for what she received from the mother country, either in productions of her own, or of foreign industry, or in those from the East-Indies; all which articles of trade amount annually to 9,000,000 of livres, (393,750*l.*)

SHE has still, however, trade enough to keep six thousand sailors in constant employment. Her marine consists of five hundred large vessels, which carry altogether forty thousand tons burden; besides a great number of smaller vessels for fishing and for the coasting trade, which come out indifferently from all the open roads which are spread all over the coast. Almost all of them load and unload at Boston.

BOSTON, the capital of New-England, is situated on a peninsula, about four miles long, at the bottom of the fine bay of Massachusetts, which reaches about eight miles within land. The opening of the bay is sheltered from the impetuosity of the waves, by a number of rocks which rise above the water, and by a number of small islands, the greater part of which are fruitful and inhabited. These dikes and natural ramparts will not allow more than three ships to come in together. At the end of the last century, a regular citadel, named fort William, was erected

erected in one of the islands upon this narrow channel. There are one hundred pieces of cannon each carrying forty-two pounders, which are disposed in such a manner, that they can batter a ship fore and aft before she can possibly bring her guns to bear. A league further on, there is a very high light-house, the signals from which, in case of an invasion, are perceived and repeated by the fortresses along the whole coast, at the same time that Boston has her own light-house, which spreads the alarm to all the inland country. Except in the case of a very thick fog, which a few ships may take advantage of, to get into some of the smaller islands, the town has always five or six hours to prepare for the reception of the enemy, and to get together ten thousand militia, which can be raised at four and twenty hours notice. If a fleet should ever be able to pass the artillery of fort William, it would infallibly be stopped by a couple of batteries, which being erected to the north and south of the place, command the whole bay, and would give time for all the vessels and commercial stores to be sheltered from cannon shot in the river Charles.

Boston port is large enough for six hundred vessels to anchor in it safely and commodiously. There is a magnificent pier constructed, far enough advanced in the sea, for the ships to unload their goods without the assistance of a lighter, and to discharge them into the warehouses which are ranged on the north side. At the extremity of the pier, the town appears built in the form of a crescent round the harbour. According to the bills of mortality, which are become with reason the only rule of political arithmetic, it contains about thirty thousand inhabitants, composed of Anabaptists, Quakers, French refugees, English Presbyterians and church of England men. The houses, furniture, dress,

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food,

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food, conversation, customs and manners are so exactly similar to the mode of living in London, that it is impossible to find any other difference but that which arises from the overgrown population of large capitals.

New York
founded by
the Dutch,
passes into
the hands
of the
English.

NEW ENGLAND, which resembles the mother country in so many respects, is contiguous to New-York. The latter limited to the east by this principle colony, and bounded to the west by New-Jersey; occupied at first a very narrow space of twenty miles along the sea-shore, and insensibly enlarging, extends above a hundred and fifty miles northward in the inland country.

THIS country was discovered by Henry Hudson in 1609. That celebrated navigator, after having made vain attempts under the patronage of the Dutch East-India company for the discovery of a north-west passage, veered about to the southward, and coasted along the continent, in hopes of making some useful discovery that might prove a kind of indemnification to the society for the trust they had reposed in him. He entered into a considerable river, to which he gave his name, and after having reconnoitred the coast and its inhabitants, returned to Amsterdam whence he had set sail.

ACCORDING to the European system, which considers the people of the new world as nothing, this country should have belonged to the Dutch. It had been discovered by a man in their service, who had taken possession of it in their name, and given up to them all the claims which he himself might have to it. His being an Englishman did not, in the least, invalidate these uncontrovertible titles. It must, therefore, have occasioned great surprize, when James the first asserted his pretensions to it, upon the principle that Hudson was born his subject; as if the real country of any man was not that in which he acquires his subsistence.

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The king was so convinced of this that he soon gave up the matter; and the republic sent in 1610 to lay the foundation of the colony in a country which was to be called New Belgia. Every thing prospered here. Fortunate beginnings seemed to announce a still greater progress, when in 1664, the colony was exposed to a storm which it could not possibly foresee.

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ENGLAND, which had not at that time those intimate connections with Holland, that the ambition and successes of Lewis the XIVth have given birth to since, had long seen with a jealous eye the prosperity of a small state in its neighbourhood, which, though but just formed, was already extending its prosperous trade to all parts of the world. She was secretly disturbed at the thoughts of not being on an equality with a power to whom, in the nature of things, she ought to have been greatly superior. Her rivals in commerce and navigation by their vigilance and œconomy, gained the advantage over her in all the large markets of the universe. Every effort she made to establish a competition turned either to her loss or discredit, and she was obliged only to act a secondary part, whilst all the trade then known was evidently centering itself in the republic. At length, the nation felt the disgrace of her merchants, and resolved that what they could not compass by industry, should be secured to them by force. Charles the second, notwithstanding his aversion for business, and his immoderate love of pleasure, eagerly adopted a measure which gave him a prospect of acquiring the riches of those distant regions, together with the maritime empire of Europe. His brother, more active and more enterprising than himself, encouraged him in these dispositions, and the deliberation concluded

BOOK III. ed with their ordering the Dutch ships to be attacked without any previous declaration of war.

AN English fleet appeared before New Belgia, in the month of August. It had three thousand men on board, and so numerous a force precluded every idea, as well as every hope of resistance; the colony submitted as soon as it was summoned. The conquest was secured to the victors by the treaty of Breda; but it was again taken from them in 1673, when the intrigues of France had found means to set two powers at variance, who for their mutual interests ought always to be friends. A second treaty restored New Belgia to the English, who have remained in quiet possession of it ever since under the name of New York.

It had taken that name from the duke of York, to whom it had been given by the king in 1664. As soon as he had recovered it, he governed it upon the same arbitrary principles, which afterwards deprived him of the throne. His deputies, in whose hands were lodged powers of every kind, not contented with the exercise of the public authority, constituted themselves arbitrators in all private disputes. The country was then inhabited by Hollanders, who had preferred these plantations to their own country, and by colonists who had come from New England. These people had been too long accustomed to liberty, to submit patiently for any time to so arbitrary an administration. Every thing seemed tending either to an insurrection or an emigration, when in 1683, the colony was invited to chuse representatives to settle its form of government. Time produced some other changes; but it was not till 1691 that a fixed plan of government was adopted, which has been followed ever since.

AT the head of the colony is a governor appointed by the crown, which likewise appoints twelve counsellors, without whose concurrence the governor can sign no act. The commons are represented by twenty-seven deputies, chosen by the inhabitants, and these several bodies constitute the general assembly, in which every power is lodged. The duration of this assembly, originally unlimited, was afterwards fixed at three years, and now continues for seven, like the British parliament, whose revolutions it has followed.

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SUPPORTED upon a form of government so solid, so favourable to that liberty which makes every thing prosper, the colony turned its attention wholly to the various labours which its situation could require or encourage. A climate much milder than that of New England, a soil superior to it for the cultivation of corn, and equally fit for that of every other production, soon enabled it to vie successfully with an establishment that had got the start of it in all its productions, and in all the markets. If it was not equal in its manufactures, this inferiority was amply compensated by a fur trade infinitely more considerable. These means of prosperity united to a very great degree of toleration in religious matters, have raised its population to one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, five and twenty thousand of whom are able to bear arms, and constitute the national militia.

Flourish-
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New York.
Causes of
its prosper-
ity.

THE colony would still have flourished much more had not its prosperity been obstructed by the fanaticism of two governors, the oppressive conduct of some others, and the extravagant grants made to some individuals in too high favour; but these inconveniences, which are only temporary under the English government, have some of them ceased, and the rest of them are lessened. The province may, therefore, expect to see her produc-

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tions doubly increased, if the two thirds of its territory, which still remain uncleared, should yield as much as the one third which has already been cultivated.

It is impossible to foresee what influence these riches may have upon the minds of the inhabitants; but it is certain they have not yet abused those they have hitherto acquired. The Dutch, who were the first founders of the colony, planted in it that spirit of order and oeconomy, which is the characteristic of their nation; and as they always made up the bulk of the people, even after they had changed masters, the example of their decent manners was imitated by all the new colonists brought amongst them by the conquest. The Germans, compelled to take refuge in America by the persecution which drove them out of the palatinate, or from the other provinces of the empire, were naturally inclined to this simple and modest way of life; and the English and French, who were not accustomed to so much frugality, soon conformed, either from motives of wisdom or emulation, to a mode of living less expensive, and more familiar than that which is regulated by fashion and parade.

WHAT has been the consequence? That the colony has never run in debt with the mother country; that it has by that means preserved an entire liberty in its sales and purchases; and been enabled always to give to its affairs the direction, which has been most advantageous to them. Had the representatives carried the same principles into their administration, the province would not have entered precipitately into engagements, the burthen of which it already feels.

BOTH the banks of Hudson's river are laid out in the plantations of the colony, which enliven and decorate these borders. It is upon this magnificent canal, which

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is navigable day and night, in all seasons, and where the tide runs up above a hundred and sixty miles in the land, that every thing which is intended for the general market is embarked in vessels of forty or fifty tons burthen. The staple itself, which is near the sea, is extremely well situated for receiving all the merchandise of the province and all that comes from Long Island, which is only separated from the continent by a narrow canal.

THIS island, which takes its name from its figure, is one hundred and twenty miles in length by twelve in breadth. It was formerly very famous for the great number of whales and sea-calves taken in its neighbourhood; but the frequent fishing has driven away these animals, which generally seek quiet seas and desert shores, they having disappeared, and another branch of industry has been found to supply their loss. As the pastures are most excellent, the breeding of all kinds of cattle, and particularly horses, has been much attended to, without neglecting any other branch of cultivation. All these different riches flow to the principal market, which is also increased by productions brought from a greater distance. Some parts of New England and New Jersey find their account in pouring their stores into this magazine.

THIS mart is a very considerable town, which at present has the same name as the colony, and is called New York. It was formerly built by the Dutch, who gave it the name of New Amsterdam, in an island called Manahatton, which is fourteen leagues long, and not very broad. In 1756, its population amounted to 10,468 whites, and 2,275 negroes. There is not any town where the air is better, or where there is a more general appearance of ease and plenty. Both the public edifices and private houses convey the idea of solidity united

B O O K ed to convenience. If the city, however, were attacked
 III. with vigour, it would hardly hold out twenty-four
 hours, having no other protection for the road that leads
 to the town than a bad fort and a stone retrenchment.

NEW YORK, which stands at the distance of about two miles from the mouth of Hudson's river, has, properly speaking, neither port or bason, but it does not want either, for its road is sufficient. It is thence that 250 or 300 ships are dispatched every year for the different ports of Europe and America, England receives but a small part of them, but they are the richest, as they are those whose cargoes consist in furs and beaver skins. The manner in which the colony gets possession of these skins is now to be explained.

As soon as the Dutch had built New Amsterdam in a situation which they thought favourable for the intercourse with Europe, they next endeavoured to establish an advantageous trade there. The only thing at that time in request from North America was furs; but as the neighbouring savages offered but few, and those very indifferent, there was a necessity for pushing to the north to have them better and in larger quantities. In consequence of this a project was formed for a settlement on the banks of Hudson's river, at 150 miles distance from the capital; the circumstances fortunately proved favourable for obtaining the consent of the Iroquois, to whom that territory belonged. This brave nation happened to be then at war with the French, who were just arrived in Canada. Upon an agreement to supply them with the same arms that their enemies used, they allowed the Dutch to build fort Orange, which was afterwards called fort Albany. There was never the least dispute between the two nations; on the contrary, the Dutch, with the assistance of their powder,
 lead

lead and guns, which they used to give in exchange for skins, secured to themselves not only what they could get by their own hunting in all the five countries, but even the spoils collected by the Iroquois warriors in their expeditions.

THOUGH the English, upon their taking possession of the colony, maintained the union with the savages, they did not think seriously of extending the fur trade, till the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685, introduced among them the art of making beaver hats. Their efforts were for a long time ineffectual, and there were chiefly two obstacles to control their success. The French were accustomed to draw from Albany itself coverlids, thick worsted stuffs, different iron and copper manufactures, even arms and ammunition; all which they could sell to the savages with so much the more advantage as these goods bought at Albany cost them one third less than they would have done at any other place. Besides, the American nations, who were separated from New York by the country of the Iroquois, in which no one chose to venture far, could hardly treat with any but the French.

BURNET, who was governor of the English colony in 1720, was either the first who perceived the evil, or who first ventured to strike at the root of it. He made the general assembly forbid all communication between Albany and Canada, and then obtained the consent of the Iroquois to build and fortify the factory of Oswego at his own expence, on that part of the lake Ontario, by which most of the savages must pass in their way to Montreal. In consequence of these two operations, the beavers and the other peltry were pretty equally divided between the French and English. The accession of Canada cannot but interfere in the share New York had in this trade, as the latter is better situated

BOOK III. situated for it, than the country which disputed it with her.

If the English colony has gained by the acquisition of Canada, it does not appear to have lost any thing by being separated from New Jersey, which formerly made a part of New Belgia, under the title of New Sweden.

In what manner New Jersey fell into the hands of the English. Its present state.

THE Swedes were, in fact, the first Europeans who settled in this region, about the year 1639. The neglect in which they were left by their own country, which was too weak to be able to extend its protection to them at so great a distance, obliged them, at the end of sixteen years, to give themselves up to the Dutch, who united this acquisition to New Belgia. When the duke of York received the grant of the two centuries he separated them, and divided the least of them, called New Jersey, between two of his favourites.

CARTERET and Berkley, the first of whom had received the eastern, and the other the western part of the province, had solicited this vast territory with no other view but to put it up to sale. Several adventurers accordingly bought large districts of them at a low price, which they divided and sold again in smaller parcels. In the midst of these subdivisions, the colony became divided into two distinct provinces, each separately governed by the original proprietors. The exercise of this right growing at length inconvenient, as, indeed, it was ill adapted to the situation of a subject, they gave up their charter to the crown in 1702; and from that time the two provinces became one, and were directed like the greater part of the other English colonies by a governor, a council and a general assembly.

NEW JERSEY, situated between 39 and 40 leagues north latitude, is bounded to the east by New York, to the west by Pennsylvania, to the north by unknown land, and

and to the south by the ocean, which washes its coasts through an extent of 120 miles. This large country before the revolution contained only sixteen thousand inhabitants, the descendents of Swedes and Dutch, who were its first cultivators, to whom had been added some Quakers, and some church of England men, with a greater number of Presbyterians. The imperfection of the government stopped its progress, and created that indigence and inability it has ever since been oppressed with. It might have been expected that the æra of liberty should have been that of its prosperity; but almost all the Europeans who went to the new world in search either of an asylum or riches, preferring the milder and more fruitful climates of Carolina and Pennsylvania, New Jersey could never rise from its primitive languor. Even at this day, it does not reckon above fifty thousand whites, united in villages, or dispersed among the plantations, with twenty thousand blacks.

THE poverty of this province not suffering it in the beginning, to open a direct trade with the distant or foreign markets, it began to sell its productions at Philadelphia, and especially at New York, with which there was an easy communication by rivers. It has continued this practice ever since, and receives in exchange from these cities some of the productions of the mother country. Far, however, from being able to acquire any objects of luxury, it cannot even afford to purchase all the articles of immediate necessity; but is obliged to manufacture the greatest part of its own clothing.

THERE is of course very little specie in the colony, which is reduced to the use of paper-currency. All its bills together do not amount to more than 1,350,000 livres. (61,875*l.*) As they are current both in Pennsylvania

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sylvania and New York, which do not take any of each others bills; they bear an advanced premium above the bills of these two colonies, by being made use of in all the payments between them.

BUT so trifling an advantage will never give any real importance to New Jersey. It is from out of its own bosom, that is, from the culture of its immense tract of desert country, that it is to draw its vigour and prosperity. As long as it stands in need of intermediate agents, it will never recover from the state of imbecility into which it is plunged. Of this the colony is thoroughly sensible, and all its efforts are now directed to this end, in order to enable it to act for itself. It has even already made some with success. As far back as the year 1751, it found means to fit out, at its own expence, thirty-eight vessels for Europe, or to the southern isles of America. These vessels carried 188,000 quintals of biscuits, six thousand four hundred and twenty-four barrels of flour, seventeen thousand nine hundred and forty-one bushels of corn, three hundred and fourteen barrels of salt beef and pork, fourteen hundred quintals of hemp; together with a pretty large quantity of hams, butter, beer, linseed, iron in bars, and wood for building. It is imagined that this trade may have increased one third since that time.

THIS beginning of riches must raise the emulation, the industry, the hopes, the projects, and the enterprises of a colony, which hitherto had not been able to sustain that importance in trade, which its situation seemed to promise it. If, however, there are some poor and feeble states that draw their subsistence and support from the vicinity of others more rich and more brilliant, there are a far greater number whom, such a neighbourhood
entirely

entirely crushes and destroys. This, perhaps, has been the fate of New Jersey, as will appear from the history we are going to give of Pennsylvania, which, being situated too near this colony, has sometimes eclipsed it with its shadow, while at other times its splendour, renders this settlement less the object of consideration.

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END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

THE FOURTH BOOK, which was destined to contain the history of the new colonies, is now published. It is divided into two parts, the first of which contains the history of the colonies from their first settlement to the present time, and the second part contains the history of the colonies from the present time to the future. The first part is divided into three books, the first of which contains the history of the colonies from their first settlement to the present time, the second part contains the history of the colonies from the present time to the future, and the third part contains the history of the colonies from the future to the present time. The second part is divided into three books, the first of which contains the history of the colonies from the present time to the future, the second part contains the history of the colonies from the future to the present time, and the third part contains the history of the colonies from the present time to the future. The third part is divided into three books, the first of which contains the history of the colonies from the present time to the future, the second part contains the history of the colonies from the future to the present time, and the third part contains the history of the colonies from the present time to the future.

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BOOK IV.

English colonies founded in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. General reflections on all these settlements.

The Quakers found Pennsylvania. Manners of that sect.

LUTHERANISM, which was destined to cause a remarkable change in Europe, either by its own influence, or by the example it gave, occasioned a great ferment in the minds of all men; when there arose from its ebullition a new religion, which at first appeared much more like a rebellion guided by fanaticism, than a sect that was governed by any fixed principles. In fact, the generality of the innovators follow so regular a system, as to be composed of doctrines connected with each other, and in the beginning, at least, take up arms only to defend themselves. The Anabaptists, on the contrary, as if they had only looked into the Bible for the word of command to attack, lifted up the standard of rebellion, before they had agreed upon any system of doctrine. It is true, indeed, that their leaders had taught, that it was a ridiculous and useless practice to administer baptism to infants, and asserted that their opinion

opinion upon this point was the same as that of the primitive church; but they had not yet ever practised themselves this only article of faith, which furnished a pretence for separation. The spirit of sedition precluded them from paying a proper attention to the schismatic tenets, on which their separation was founded. To shake off the tyrannical yoke of church and state, was their law and their faith. To enlist in the armies of the lord, to join with the faithful, who were to wield the sword of Gideon, this was their device, their motive, and their signal for rallying.

It was not till after they had carried fire and sword into a great part of Germany, that the Anabaptists thought at last of marking and cementing their confederacy by some visible sign of union. Having been inspired at first to raise a body of troops, in 1525 they were inspired to compose a religious code, and the following were the tenets they adopted.

IN the mixed system of intolerance and mildness by which they are guided, the Anabaptist church being the only one in which the pure word of God is taught, neither can nor ought to communicate with any other.

THE spirit of the Lord blowing wheresoever it listeth, the power of preaching is not limited to one order of the faithful, but is given to all. Every one likewise has the gift of prophecy.

EVERY sect which has not preserved the community of all things which constituted the life and spirit of primitive christianity, has degenerated, and is for that reason an impure society.

MAGISTRATES are useless in a society of the truly faithful. A christian never has occasion for any; nor is a christian allowed to be one himself.

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CHRISTIANS are not permitted to take up arms even in their own defence, much less is it lawful for them to enlist as soldiers in mercenary armies.

BOTH law-suits and oaths are forbidden the disciples of Christ, who has commanded them to let their yea, be yea, and their nay, nay.

THE baptism of infants is an invention of the devil and of the pope. The validity of baptism depends upon the voluntary consent of the adults, who alone are able to receive it with a consciousness of the engagement they take upon themselves.

SUCH in its original state was the religious system of the Anabaptists. Though it appears founded on charity and mildness, yet it produced nothing but violence and iniquity. The chimerical idea of an equality of stations is the most dangerous that can be adopted in a civilized society. To preach this system to the people, is not to put them in mind of their rights, it is leading them on to assassination and plunder. It is letting domestic animals loose, and transforming them into wild beasts. Either the masters who govern the people, or the laws by which they are conducted, should be enlightened and softened : but there is no such thing in nature as an equality in fact, there is only an equality of right. Even the savages themselves are not equal, when once they are collected into tribes. They are only so, while they wander in the woods ; and then the man who gives himself up to take his game by hunting, is not equal to him who brings it home. Such has been the origin of all societies.

A DOCTRINE, the basis of which was the community of goods and equality of ranks, was hardly calculated to find partizans any where but among the poor. The peasants all accordingly adopted it with the more violence in

in proportion as the yoke from which it delivered them was more insupportable. The far greater part, especially those who were condemned to slavery, rose up in arms on all sides, to support a doctrine, which, from being vassals, made them equal to their lords. The apprehension of seeing one of the first bands of society, obedience to the magistrate, broken, united all other sects against them, who could not subsist without subordination. After having carried on a more obstinate resistance than could have been expected, they yielded at length to the number of their enemies. Their sect, notwithstanding it had made its way all over Germany, and into a part of the north, was no where prevalent, because it had been every where opposed and dispersed. It was but barely tolerated in those countries, in which the greatest latitude of opinion was allowed; and there was not any state in which it was able to settle a church, authorized by the civil power. This of course weakened it, and from obscurity it fell into contempt. Its only triumph is that of having, perhaps, contributed to the foundation of the sect of the Quakers.

THIS humane and pacific sect had arisen in England amidst internal convulsions, which terminated only in a monarch's being brought to the scaffold by his own subjects. The founder of it George Fox, was of the lower class of the people; a man who had been formerly a mechanic, but whom a singular and contemplative turn of mind had induced to quit his profession. In order to wean himself entirely from all earthly affections, he broke off all connections with his own family; and for fear of being tempted to renew them, he determined to have no fixed abode. He often wandered alone in the woods, without any other amusement but his bible. In time he even learnt to go without that, when he fancied

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he had acquired from it a degree of inspiration similar to that of the apostles and the prophets.

THEN he began to think of making profelytes, which he found not in the least difficult, in a country where the minds of most men were filled and disturbed, with enthusiastic notions. He was, therefore, soon followed by a multitude of disciples, the novelty and singularity of whose doctrines upon incomprehensible subjects, could not fail of attracting and fascinating all those who were fond of the marvellous.

THE first thing, by which they caught the eye, was the simplicity of their dress, in which there was neither gold nor silver lace, nor embroidery, nor laces, nor ruffles, and from which they affected to banish every thing that was superfluous or unnecessary. They would not suffer either a button in the hat, or a plait in the coat, because it was possible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for established modes reminded those who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous than the rest of men, from whom they distinguished themselves by this external modesty.

ALL the external deferences which the pride and tyranny of mankind exact from those who are unable to refuse them, were disdained by the Quakers, who disclaimed the names of master and servant. They condemned all titles as pride in those who claimed them, and as meanness in those who accepted them. They did not allow to any person whatever the appellation of eminence or excellence, and so far they might be in the right; but they refused to comply with those reciprocal marks of attention which we call politeness, and in this they were to blame. The name of friend, they said, was not to be refused by one christian or citizen to another, but the ceremony of bowing they considered as ridiculous

diculous and troublesome. To pull off one's hat they held to be a want of respect to one's self, in order to shew it to others. They carried it so far, that even the magistrates could not draw from them any external token of reverence; but they addressed both them and princes according to the ancient majesty of language, in the second person and in the singular number.

THE austerity of their morals ennobled the singularity of their manners. The use of arms, considered in every light, appeared a crime to them. If it was to attack, it was violating the laws of humanity; if to defend one's self, it was breaking through those of christianity. Universal peace was the gospel they had agreed to profess. If any one smote a Quaker upon one cheek, he immediately presented the other; if any one asked him for his coat, he offered his waistcoat too. Nothing could engage these equitable men to demand more than the lawful price for their work, or to take less than what they demanded. An oath even before a magistrate and in a just cause they deemed to be a profanation of the name of God, in any of the wretched disputes that arise between weak and perishable beings.

THE contempt they had for the outward forms of politeness in civil life was changed, into an aversion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of religion. They looked upon churches merely as the parade of religion, they considered the sabbath as a pernicious idleness, and baptism and the Lord's supper as ridiculous symbols. For this reason, they rejected all regular orders of clergy. Every one of the faithful they imagined received an immediate illumination from the Holy Ghost, which gave a character far superior to that of the priesthood. When they were assembled together, the first person who found himself inspired arose and imparted the lights he had

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fancied to have received from Heaven. Even women were often favoured with this gift of speech, which they called the gift of prophecy; sometimes many of these pious brethren spoke at the same time; but much more frequently a profound silence prevailed in their assemblies.

THE enthusiasm occasioned both by their meditations and discourses, excited such a degree of sensibility in the nervous system, that it threw them into convulsions, for which reason they were called Quakers. To have cured these people in process of time of their folly, nothing more was requisite than to turn it into ridicule; but instead of this, persecution contributed to make it more general. Whilst every other new sect met with encouragement, this was exposed to every kind of punishment, imprisonment, whippings, pillories, mad-houses; nothing was thought too terrible for bigots, whose only crime was that of wanting to be virtuous and reasonable over much. The constancy with which they bore their sufferings, at first excited compassion and afterwards admiration for them. Even Cromwel, who had been one of their most violent enemies, because they used to insinuate themselves into his camps, and discourage his soldiers from their profession, shewed them public marks of his esteem. His policy exerted itself in endeavouring to draw them into his party, in order to conciliate himself a higher degree of respect and consideration; but they either eluded his invitations or rejected them, and he afterwards confessed that this was the only religion in which his guineas had taken no effect.

AMONGST the several persons who cast a temporary lustre on the sect, the only one who deserves to be remembered by posterity, is William Penn. He was the son of an admiral, who had been fortunate enough to be equally distinguished by Cromwel, and the two Steuarts
who

who held the reins of government after him. This able seaman, more supple and more insinuating than men commonly are in his profession, had rendered signal services to government in the different expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not suffered them to be repaid during his life, and as affairs were not in a better situation at his death, it was proposed to his son, that instead of money, he should accept of an immense territory in America. It was a country, which though long since discovered and surrounded by English colonies, had always been neglected. The love of humanity made him accept with pleasure this kind of patrimony, which was ceded to him almost as a sovereignty, and he determined to make it the abode of virtue, and the asylum of the unfortunate. With this generous design, towards the end of the year 1681, he set sail for his new possessions, which from that time took the name of Pennsylvania. All the Quakers were desirous to follow him, in order to avoid the persecution raised against them by the clergy, on account of their not complying with the tithes and other ecclesiastical fees; but his prudence engaged him to take over no more than two thousand.

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His arrival in the new world was signalized by an act of equity which made his person and principles equally beloved. Not thoroughly satisfied with the right given him to his extensive territory, by the cession of the British minister, he determined to make it his own property by purchasing it of the natives. The price he gave to the savages is not known; but though some people accuse them of stupidity for consenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not less entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and justice in America, never so

Upon what
principles
Pennsylva-
nia was
founded.

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much as thought of before by the Europeans. He made his acquisition as valid as he could, and by the use he made of it he supplied any deficiency there might be in the legality of his title. The Americans conceived as great an affection for his colony, as they had conceived an aversion for all those which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their consent. From that time there arose a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to shake.

PENN's humanity could not be confined to the savages only, it extended itself to all those who were desirous of living under his laws. Sensible that the happiness of the people depended upon the nature of the legislation, he founded his upon those two first principles of public splendor and private felicity, liberty and property. Here it is that the mind rests with pleasure upon modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European settlements in America inspires. Hitherto we have only seen these Barbarians spreading depopulation before they took possession, and laying every thing waste before they cultivated. It is time to observe the seeds of reason, happiness, and humanity sown and springing up amidst the ruin of an hemisphere, which still reaks with the blood of all its people, civilized as well as savage.

THIS virtuous legislator made toleration the basis of his society. He admitted every man who acknowledged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every christian eligible to state-employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the Supreme Being as he thought proper, and neither established a reigning church in Pennsylvania,

vania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worship, nor compelled any persons to attend them.

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JEALOUS of immortalizing his name, he vested in his family the right of nominating the chief governor of the colony; but he ordained that no profits should be annexed to his employment, except such as were voluntarily granted; and that he should have no authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens who had an interest in the law, by having one in the circumstance, the law was intended to regulate, were to be electors and might be chosen. To avoid as much as possible every kind of corruption, it was ordained that the representatives should be chosen by suffrages privately given. To establish a law, a plurality of voices was sufficient; but a majority of two thirds was necessary to settle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift than a subsidy demanded by government; but was it possible to grant less indulgences to men who were come so far in search of peace?

SUCH was the opinion of that real philosopher Penn. He gave a thousand acres to all those who could afford to pay 430 livres (19*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*) for them. Every one who could not, obtained for himself, his wife, each of his children above sixteen years old, and each of his servants fifty acres of land, for the annual quit-rent of one sol, ten deniers and a half (about one penny) per acre.

To fix these properties for ever he established tribunals to protect the laws made for the preservation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands to make those who are in possession of them purchase the law that secures them: for in that case one is obliged to give away part of one's property in order to secure the rest; and law, in process of time, exhausts

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the very treasures it should preserve, and the very property it should defend. Lest any persons should be found whose interest it might be to encourage or prolong law-suits, he forbade under very strict penalties all those who were engaged in the administration of justice, to receive any salary or gratification whatsoever. And further, every district was obliged to chuse three arbitrators, whose business it was to endeavour to prevent, and make up any disputes that might happen, before they were carried into a court of justice.

THIS attention to prevent law-suits arose from the desire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that they might have no vices to punish, were directed to put a stop to them even in their very sources: poverty and idleness. It was enacted that every child above twelve years old, should be obliged to learn a profession, let his condition be what it would. This regulation at the same time that it secured the poor man a subsistence, furnished the rich man with a resource against every reverse of fortune, preserved the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original destination, which is that of labour, either of the mind or of the body.

SUCH primary institutions must be necessarily productive of an excellent legislation, and accordingly the advantages of that established by Penn, manifested itself in the rapid and continued prosperity of Pennsylvania, which, without either wars, or conquests, or struggles, or any of those revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, soon became an object fit to excite the admiration of the whole universe. Its neighbours, notwithstanding their savage state, were softened by the gentleness of its manners, and distant nations, notwithstanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to see those heroic days of antiquity realized,

realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to consider as entirely fabulous.

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Prosperity
of Pensyl-
vania.

PENNSYLVANIA is defended to the east by the ocean, to the north by New York and New Jersey, to the south by Virginia and Maryland, to the west by the Indians; on all sides by friends, and within itself by the virtue of its inhabitants. Its coasts, which are at first sight very narrow, extend gradually to 120 miles, and the breadth of it, which has no other limits than its population and culture, already comprehends 145 miles. The sky of the colony is pure and serene, the climate very wholesome of itself, has been still rendered more so by cultivation, the waters equally salubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock or sand; the year is tempered by a regular return of the seasons. Winter, which begins in the month of January, lasts till the end of March. As it is seldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is, generally speaking, moderate; sometimes, however, sharp enough to freeze the largest rivers in one night. This revolution, which is as short as it is sudden, is occasioned by the north-west winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The spring is ushered in by soft rains and by a gentle heat, which increases gradually till the end of June. The heats of the dog-days would be insupportable were it not for the refreshing breezes of the south-west wind; but this succour, though pretty constant, sometimes exposes them to hurricanes that blow down whole forests, and tear up trees by the roots, especially in the neighbourhood of the sea, where they are most violent. The three autumnal months are commonly attended with no other inconvenience but that of being too rainy.

THOUGH the country is unequal, it is nevertheless fertile. The soil in some places consists of a yellow black

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black sand, in others it is gravelly, and sometimes it is a greyish ash upon a stony bottom; generally speaking, it is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which intersecting it in all directions, contribute more to the fertility of the country than navigable rivers would.

WHEN the Europeans first came into the country, they found nothing in it but wood for building, and iron mines. In process of time, by cutting down the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, with a great variety of fruits, with plantations of flax and hemp, with many kinds of vegetables, with every sort of grain, and especially with rye and maize; which a happy experience had shewn to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on in all parts with such vigour and success as excited the astonishment of all nations.

WHENCE could arise this extraordinary prosperity? From that civil and religious liberty which have attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly some laborious Germans into that country. It has been the joint work of Quakers, Anabaptists, church of England-men, Methodists, Presbyterians, Moravians, Lutherans and Catholics.

AMONG the numerous sects which abound in this country, a very distinguished one is that of the Dumplers. It was founded by a German, who, disgusted with the world, retired to an agreeable solitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to be more at liberty to give himself up to contemplation. Curiosity brought several of his countrymen to visit his retreat, and by degrees his pious, simple and peaceable manners induced them to settle near him, and they all formed a little colony which they called Euphrates, in allusion to the Hebrews, who used to sing psalms on the borders of that river.

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THIS little city forms a triangle, the outsides of which are bordered with mulberry and apple-trees, planted with regularity. In the middle of the town is a very large orchard, and between the orchard and these ranges of trees are houses, built of wood, three stories high, where every Dumper is left to enjoy the pleasures of his meditations without disturbance. These contemplative men do not amount to above five hundred in all; their territory is about 250 acres in extent, the boundaries of which are marked by a river, a piece of stagnated water, and a mountain covered with trees.

THE men and women live in separate quarters of the city. They never see each other but at places of worship, nor are there any assemblies of any kind but for public business. Their life is taken up in labour, prayer and sleep. Twice every day and night they are called forth from their cells to attend divine service. Like the Methodists and Quakers every individual among them possesses the right of preaching when he thinks himself inspired. The favourite subjects on which they love to discourse in their assemblies, are humility, temperance, chastity, and the other christian virtues. They never violate the rest of the Sabbath, which is so much the delight of laborious as well as idle men. They admit a hell and a paradise; but reject the eternity of future punishments. The doctrine of original sin is with them an impious blasphemy, which they abhor, and in general every tenet cruel to man appears to them injurious to the divinity. As they do not allow merit to any but voluntary works, they only administer baptism to the adult. At the same time they think baptism so essentially necessary to salvation, that they imagine the souls of christians in another world are employed in converting those who have not died under the law of the gospel.

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STILL more disinterested than the Quakers, they never allow themselves any law-suits. One may cheat, rob and abuse them without ever being exposed to any retaliation, or even any complaint from them. Religion has the same effect on them that philosophy had upon the Stoics; it makes them insensible to every kind of insult.

NOTHING can be plainer than their dress. In winter, it is made of a long white gown, whence there hangs a hood, to serve instead of a hat, a coarse shirt, thick shoes, and very wide breeches. There is no great difference in summer, only that linen is used instead of woollen. The women are dressed much like the men, except the breeches.

THEIR common food is only vegetable, not that it is unlawful to make use of any other, but because that kind of abstinence is looked upon as more conformable to the spirit of christianity, which has an aversion for blood. Each individual follows with cheerfulness the branch of business allotted to him. The produce of all their labours is deposited into a common stock, in order to supply the necessaries of every one. Besides the cultivation, manufactures, and all the arts necessary to the little society, which are thus produced by united industry, it affords a superfluity for exchanges proportioned to the population.

THOUGH the two sexes live separate at Euphrates, the Dumplers do not on that account foolishly renounce matrimony. But those who find themselves disposed to it leave the city, and form an establishment in the country, which is supported at the public expence. They repay this by the produce of their labours, which is all thrown into the public treasury, and their children are sent to be educated in the parent state. Without this wise regulation, the Dumplers would be nothing more than monks,

monks, and in process of time would become either savages or libertines.

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WHAT is most edifying and at the same time most extraordinary is, the harmony that subsists between all the sects established in Pennsylvania, notwithstanding the difference of their religious opinions. Though they are not all of the same church, they all love and cherish one another as children of the same father. They have always continued to live like brothers, because they had the liberty of thinking as men. It is to this delightful harmony that we must attribute more particularly the rapid progress of the colony.

AT the beginning of the year 1766, its population amounted to 150,000 white people. The number must have been considerably increased from that period, since it is doubled every fifteen years, according to Mr. Franklin's calculations. They were still thirty thousand blacks in the province, who met with less ill-usage in this province than in the others, but who were still exceedingly unhappy. A circumstance, however, not easily believed is, that the subjection of the negroes has not corrupted the morals of their masters; their manners are still pure, and even austere, in Pennsylvania. Is this singular advantage to be ascribed to the climate, the laws, the religion, the emulation constantly subsisting between the different sects, or to some other particular cause? Let the reader determine this question.

THE Pennsylvanians are in general well made, and their women of an agreeable figure. As they sooner become mothers than in Europe, they sooner cease breeding. If the heat of the climate seems on the one hand to hasten the operations of nature, its inconstancy weakens them on the other. There is no place where
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B O O K the temperature of the sky is more uncertain, for it
IV. sometimes changes five or six times in the same day.

As however these varieties neither have any dangerous influence upon the vegetables, nor destroy the harvests, there is a constant plenty, and an universal appearance of ease. The œconomy which is so particularly attended to in Pennsylvania, does not prevent both sexes from being elegant in their wear; and their food is still preferable in its kind to their clothing. The families, whose circumstances are the most limited, have all of them bread, meat, cyder, beer and rum. A very great number are able to afford at their tables constantly French and Spanish wines, punch, and even liquors of a higher price. The abuse of these strong drinks is less frequent than in other places, but is not without example.

THE pleasing view of this abundance is never disturbed by the melancholy sight of poverty. There are no poor in all Pennsylvania. All those whose birth or fortune have left them without resources, are suitably provided for out of the public treasury. The spirit of benevolence is carried still further, and is extended even to the most engaging hospitality. A traveller is welcome to stop in any place, without the apprehensions of giving the least uneasy sensation, except that of regret for his departure.

THE happiness of the colony is not disturbed by the oppressive burden of taxes. In 1766, they did not amount to more than 280,140 livres, (12,256*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*) Most of them, even those that were designed to repair the damages of war, were to cease in 1772. If the people did not experience this alleviation at this period, it was owing to the irruptions of the savages, which had occasioned extraordinary expences. This trifling inconvenience would not have been attended to, if
 Penn's

Penn's family could have been prevailed upon to contribute to the public expences, in proportion to the revenue they obtain from the province : a circumstance required by the inhabitants, and which in equity they ought to have complied with.

THE Pefylvanians, happy possessors, and peaceable tenants of a country that usually renders them twenty or thirty fold for whatever they lay out upon it, are not restrained by fear from the propagation of their species. There is hardly an unmarried person to be met with in the country. Marriage is only the more happy and the more revered for it ; the freedom as well as the sanctity of it depends upon the choice of the parties : they chuse the lawyer and the priest rather as witnesses, than ministers of the engagement. Whenever two lovers meet with any opposition, they go off on horseback together, the man gets behind his mistress, and in this situation they present themselves before the magistrate, where the girl declares she has run away with her lover, and that they are come to be married. So solemn an avowal cannot be rejected, nor has any person a right to give them any molestation. In all other cases, paternal authority is excessive. The head of a family, whose affairs are involved, is allowed to engage his children to his creditors ; a punishment one should imagine very sufficient to induce a fond father to attend to his affairs. A man grown up pays off by one year's service a debt of 112 livres, 10 sols : (4*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* farth.) children under twelve years of age are obliged to serve till they are one and twenty, to pay 135 livres, (5*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.* halfp.) This is an image of the old patriarchal manners of the east.

THOUGH there are several villages and even some cities in the colony, most of the inhabitants may be said to live separately, as it were, within their families.

Every

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Every proprietor of land has his house in the midst of a large plantation entirely surrounded with quickset hedges. Of course each parish is near twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference. This distance of the churches makes the ceremonies of religion have little effect, and still less influence. Children are not baptized for a few months, and sometimes not till a year or two after their birth.

ALL the pomp of religion seems reserved for the last honours man receives before he is shut down in the grave for ever. As soon as any one is dead in the country, the nearest neighbours have notice given them of the day of burial. These spread it in the habitations next to theirs, and within a few hours the news is thus conveyed to a distance. Every family sends at least one person to attend the funeral. As they come in they are presented with punch and cake. When the assembly is complete, the corpse is carried to the burying ground belonging to his sect, or if that should be at too great a distance, into one of the fields belonging to the family. There is generally a train of four or five hundred persons on horseback, who observe a solemn silence, and have all the external appearance suited to the melancholy nature of the ceremony. One singular circumstance is, that the Pennsylvanians who are the greatest enemies to parade during their lives, seem to forget this character of modesty at their deaths. They all are desirous that their poor remains should be attended with a funeral pomp suited to their rank and fortune in life.

It is a general observation that plain and virtuous nations, even savage and poor ones, are remarkably attached to the care of their burials. The reason of it is, that they look upon these last honours as duties of the survivors, and the duties themselves, as so many distinct proofs of that principle of love, which is very strong in private

private families whilst they are in a state nearest to that of nature. It is not the dying man himself who exacts these honours, it is his parents, his wife, his children, who voluntarily pay them to the ashes of a husband and father, that has deserved to be lamented. These ceremonies have always a greater number of attendants in the lesser societies than in the greater, for though the families be less numerous, yet the number of individuals in each is greater, and the ties that connect them much stronger, arising from a frequent and necessary intercourse. This kind of intimate union has been the reason why so many small nations have overcome the larger; it drove Xerxes and his nation out of Greece, and it will some time or other expel the French out of Corsica.

BUT whence does Pensylvania draw the materials for her own consumption, and in what manner does she contrive to be abundantly furnished with them? With the flax and hemp, that is produced at home, and the cotton she procures from South America, she fabricates a great quantity of ordinary linens; and with the wool that comes from Europe she manufactures many coarse cloths. Whatever her own industry is not able to furnish, she purchases with the produce of her territory. Her ships carry over to the English, French, Dutch and Danish islands, biscuit, flour, butter, cheese, tallow, vegetables, fruits, salt meat, cyder, beer, and all sorts of wood for building. The cotton, sugar, coffee, brandy and money they receive in exchange, are so many materials for a fresh commerce with the mother country, and with other European nations as well as with other colonies. The Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain and Portugal, open an advantageous market to the corn and wood of Pensylvania, which they purchase with wine and piastres. The mother country receives from Pen-

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sylvania iron, flax, leather, furs, linseed oil, masts and yards, for which it returns thread, wool, fine cloths, tea, Irish and India linens, hard-ware, and other articles of luxury or necessity. As these, however, amount to a much greater sum than what it buys, England may be considered as a gulph in which all the metals Pennsylvania has drawn from the other parts of the world are sunk again. In 1723, England sent over goods to Pennsylvania only to the value of 250,000 livres; (10,937*l.* 10*s.*) at present she furnishes to the amount of 10,000,000. (437,500*l.*) This sum is too considerable for the colonists to be able to pay, even in depriving themselves of all the gold they draw from other markets; and this inability must continue as long as the improvement of their culture shall require more considerable advances than their produce yields. Other colonies which enjoy almost exclusively some branches of trade, such as rice, tobacco and indigo, must have grown rich very rapidly. Pennsylvania whose riches are founded on agriculture and the increase of her flocks, will acquire them more gradually; but her prosperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent basis.

If any circumstance can retard the progress of the colony, it must be the irregular manner in which the plantations are formed. Penn's family, who are the proprietors of all the lands, grant them indiscriminately in all parts, and in as large a proportion as they are required, provided they are paid fifty crowns (6*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*) for each hundred acres, and that the purchasers agree to give an annual rent of about one *sol.* (about one half*p.*) The consequence of this is, that the province wants that sort of connection which is necessary in all communities, and that the scattered inhabitants easily become

come the prey of the most insignificant enemy that will venture to attack them.

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THE manner of cleaning the land and making settlements in this colony, varies only according to circumstances. Sometimes a huntsman will settle in the midst of a forest, or quite close to it. His nearest neighbours assist him in cutting down trees, and heaping them up one over another: and this constitutes a house. Around this spot he cultivates, without any assistance, a garden or a field, sufficient to subsist himself and his family.

A FEW years after the first labours were finished, some more active and richer men arrived from the mother country. They paid the huntsman for his pains, and agreed with the proprietors of the provinces for some lands that have not yet been paid for. They built more commodious habitations, and cleared a greater extent of territory.

AT length some Germans, who came into the new world from inclination, or were driven into it by persecution, completed these settlements that were as yet unfinished. The first and second order of planters removed their industry into other parts, with a more considerable stock for carrying on their cultures than they had at first.

THE annual exports of Pennsylvania may be valued at 25,000 tons. It receives four hundred ships, and fits out about an equal number. They all or almost all come into Philadelphia, which is the capital, whence they are also dispatched.

THIS famous city, whose very name recalls every humane feeling, is situated at the conflux of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, about 120 miles from the sea. Penn, who destined it for the metropolis of a great empire, designed it to be one mile in breadth, and two in length between the rivers, but its population has proved insuffi-

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cient to cover this extent of ground. Hitherto they have built only upon the banks of the Delaware; but without giving up the ideas of the legislator, or deviating from his plan. These precautions are highly proper: Philadelphia must become the most considerable city of America, because it is impossible that the colony should not improve greatly, and its productions must pass through the harbour of the capital before they arrive at the sea. The streets of Philadelphia, which are all regular, are in general fifty feet broad; the two principal are an hundred. On each side of them, there are foot-paths, guarded by posts, placed at different distances. The houses, each of which has its garden and orchard, are commonly two stories high, and are built either of brick, or of a kind of soft stone, which grows hard by being exposed to the air. Till very lately the walls had but little thickness, because they were only to be covered with a very light kind of wood. Since the discovery of slate quarries, the walls have acquired a solidity proportioned to the weight of the new roofs. The present buildings have received an additional decoration from a kind of marble of different colours, which is found about a mile out of the town. Of this they make tables, chimney-pieces, and other household furniture; besides which it is become a pretty considerable object of commerce with the greatest part of America.

THESE valuable materials could not have been commonly found in the houses, and not be lavished in the churches. Every sect has its own church, and some of them have several.

THE town-house is a building held in as much veneration, though not so much frequented as the churches. It is constructed in the most sumptuous magnificence. It is there that the legislators of the colony assemble
once

once in every year, and more frequently if necessary, to settle every thing relative to public business; the whole of which is submitted to the authority of the nation in the persons of its representatives. Next to the town house is a most elegant library, which owes its existence to the care of the learned Doctor Frankland. In it are found the best English, French and Latin authors. It is only open publicly on Saturdays. Those who have founded it have a free access to it the whole year. The rest pay a trifle for the use of the books, and a forfeit if they are not returned in due time. This little fund constantly accumulating is appropriated to the increase of the library, to which have been lately added, in order to make it more useful, some mathematical and philosophical instruments, with a very fine cabinet of natural history.

THE college, which is intended to prepare the mind for the attainment of all the sciences, was founded in 1749. At first, it only initiated the youth in the Belles Lettres. In 1764, a class of medicine was established there. Knowledge of every kind and adepts in the sciences will increase in proportion as the lands, which are become their patrimony, shall yield a greater produce. If ever despotism, superstition or war should plunge Europe again into that state of barbarism whence philosophy and the arts have drawn it, the sacred fire will be kept alive in Philadelphia, and come thence to enlighten the world. This city is amply supplied with every assistance human nature can require, and with all the resources industry can make use of. Its keys, the principal of which is two hundred feet wide, present a suit of convenient warehouses and recesses ingeniously contrived for ship-building. Ships of five hundred tons may land there without any difficulty, except in the times of frost. There they load the merchandise which

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has either come down the Schuylkill and Delaware, or along roads better than are to be met with in most parts of Europe. Police has made a greater progress in this part of the new world, than among the most ancient nations of the old. It is impossible to determine precisely the population of Philadelphia, as the bills of mortality are not kept with any exactness, and there are several sects who do not christen their children. It appears a fact, however, that in 1766 it contained twenty thousand inhabitants. As most of them are employed in the sale of the productions of the colony, and in supplying it with what they draw from abroad, it is impossible that their fortunes should not be very considerable; and they must increase still further, in proportion as the cultivation advances in a country where hitherto not above one sixth of the land has been cleared.

PHILADELPHIA, as well as Newcastle and the other cities of Pennsylvania, is entirely open. The whole country is equally without defence. This is a necessary consequence of the principles of the Quakers, who have always maintained the principal influence in the public deliberations, though they do not form above one third part of the population of the colony. These sectaries cannot be too much favoured on account of their modesty, probity, love of labour and benevolence. One might, perhaps, be tempted to accuse their legislation of imprudence and temerity.

WHEN they established that civil liberty which protects one citizen from another, ought not the founders of the colony to have taken some pains for the maintenance of political liberty also, which protects one state from the encroachments of another? The authority which exerts itself to maintain peace and good order at home, seems to have done nothing if it has not prevented

ed invasion from abroad. To pretend that the colony would never have any enemies, was to suppose the world peopled with Quakers. It was encouraging the strong to fall upon the weak, leaving the lamb to the mercy of the wolf, and giving up all the country to the oppressive yoke of the first tyrant who should think proper to subdue it.

BUT on the other hand, how shall we reconcile with the strictness of the gospel maxims, which the Quakers have adopted for the rule of their principles both moral and divine, that force actually kept up by every christian state, either for offence or defence, which puts the different nations in a continual state of war with each other? Besides, what could the French or the Spaniards do if they were to enter Pennsylvania sword in hand? Unless they should destroy in one night or in one day all the inhabitants of that fortunate region, they would not be able to cut off the race of those mild and charitable men. Violence has its boundaries in its very excess; it consumes and extinguishes itself, as the fire in the ashes that feed it. But virtue, when guided by humanity and brotherly love, reanimates itself as the tree under the edge of the pruning knife. Wicked men stand in need of numbers to execute their sanguinary projects. But the just man, or the Quaker, requires only a brother from whom he may receive, or to whom he may give assistance. Let then the warlike nations, people who are either slaves or tyrants, go into Pennsylvania; there they will find all avenues open to them, all property at their disposal; not a single soldier, but numbers of merchants and farmers. But if they are tormented, restrained or oppressed, they will fly, and leave their lands uncultivated, their manufactures destroyed, and their warehouses empty. They will go and cultivate, and spread population in some new land; they will go round the world, and expire in their progress rather than bear against

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their pursuers, or submit to bear their yoke. Their enemies will have acquired nothing, but the hatred of mankind and the execrations of posterity.

It is upon this prospect and on this foresight, that the Pensylvanians have founded the opinion of their future security. At present they have nothing to fear from behind, since the French have lost Canada; and the flanks of the colony are sufficiently covered by the English settlements. As for the rest, as they do not see that the most warlike states are the most durable, or that mistrust, which is always awake, makes them rest in greater quiet; or that there is any kind of satisfaction in the enjoyment of that which is held with so much fear; they live for the present moment, without any thought of a future day. Perhaps too, they may think themselves secured by those very precautions that are taken in the colonies that surround them. One of the barriers, or bulwarks that preserves Pensylvania from a maritime invasion to which it is exposed, is Virginia.

Wretched
state of
Virginia at
its first set-
tlement.

VIRGINIA, which was intended to denote all that extensive space which the English proposed to occupy in the continent of North-America, is at present confined within much narrower limits. It now comprehends only that country, which is bounded to the north by Maryland; to the south by Carolina; to the west by the Apalachian mountains, and to the east by the ocean. This space contains two hundred and forty miles in length, and two hundred in breadth.

It was in 1606 that the English first landed at Virginia; and their first settlement was James-Town. Unfortunately the first object that presented itself to them was a rivulet, which, issuing from a sand-bank, drew after it a quantity of talc, which glittered at the bottom of a clear and running water. In an age when gold and silver

silver mines were the only objects of mens researches, this despicable substance was immediately taken for silver. Every other labour was instantly suspended to acquire it. And the illusion was so complete, that two ships which had arrived there with necessaries were sent home so fully freighted with these imaginary riches, that there scarce remained any room for a few furs. As long as the infatuation lasted, the colonists disdained to employ themselves in clearing the lands; so that a dreadful famine was at last the consequence of this foolish pride. Sixty men only remained alive out of five hundred that had come from Europe. These few, having only a fortnight's provision left, were upon the point of embarking for Newfoundland, when lord Delaware arrived there with three ships, a fresh colony and supplies of all kinds.

HISTORY has described this nobleman to us as a man whose genius raised him above the common prejudices of the times. His disinterestedness was equal to his knowledge. In accepting the government of the colony, which was still in its infancy, his only motives had been to gratify the inclination a virtuous mind has to do good, and to secure the esteem of posterity, which is the second reward of that generosity that devotes itself totally to the service of the public. As soon as he appeared the knowledge of his character procured him universal respect. He began by endeavouring to reconcile the wretched colonists to their fatal country, to comfort them in their sufferings, to make them hope for a speedy conclusion of them. After this, joining the firmness of an enlightened magistrate to the tenderness of a good father, he taught them how to direct their labours to an useful end. For the misfortune of the reviving colony, Delaware's declining health soon obliged him to return to Europe; but he never lost sight of

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of his favourite colonists, nor ever failed to make use of all his credit and interest at court to support them. The colony, however, made but little progress, a circumstance that was attributed to the oppression of exclusive privileges. The company which exercised them was dissolved upon Charles the first's accession to the throne, and from that time Virginia was under the immediate direction of the crown, which exacted no more than a rent of two livres, 5 sols (about 2s.) upon every hundred acres that were cultivated.

TILL this period the colonists had known no true enjoyment of property. Every individual wandered where chance directed him, or fixed himself in the place he liked best, without consulting any titles or agreements. At length, boundaries were ascertained, and those who had been so long wanderers, now become citizens, had determined limits to their plantations. The establishment of this first law of society changed the appearance of every thing. New buildings arose on all sides, and were surrounded by fresh cultivations. This activity drew great numbers of enterprising men over to Virginia, who came either in search of fortune or of liberty, which is the only compensation for the want of it. The memorable troubles that produced a change in the constitution of England added to these a multitude of Royalists, who went there with a resolution to wait with Berkley, the governor of the colony, who was also attached to king Charles, the decision of that deserted monarch's fate. Berkley still continued to protect them, even after the king's death; but some of the inhabitants either seduced or intimidated, and seconded by the approach of a powerful fleet, delivered up the colony to the Protector. If the governor was compelled to follow the stream against his will, he was, at least, among those whom Charles had honoured

honoured with posts of confidence and rank, the last who submitted to Cromwell, and the first who shook off his yoke. This brave man was sinking under the oppression of the times, when the voice of the people recalled him to the place which his successor's death had left vacant; but far from yielding to these flattering solicitations, he declared that he never would serve any but the legitimate heirs of the dethroned monarch: Such an example of magnanimity, at a time when there were no hopes of the restoration of the royal family, made such an impression upon the minds of the people, that Charles the second was proclaimed in Virginia before he had been proclaimed in England.

THE colony did not, however, receive all the benefit from such a step which might naturally have been expected. Whilst the court on one hand, granted to rapacious men of family exorbitant privileges, which swallowed up the properties of several obscure colonists; the parliament, on the other, laid excessive taxes upon both the exports and imports of Virginia. This double oppression drained all the resources and dispelled all the hopes of the colony; and to complete its misfortune, the savages, who had never been sufficiently caressed, took that opportunity to renew their incursions with a spirit and uniformity of design that had been altogether unknown.

SUCH a complication of misfortunes drove the Virginians to despair. Berkley, who had so long been their idol, was accused of wanting fortitude to resist the oppressions of the mother country, and activity to repel the irruptions of the savages. The eyes of all were immediately fixed upon Bacon, a young officer, full of vivacity, eloquence and intrepidity, of an insinuating disposition and an agreeable person. They chose him for their
general

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general in an irregular and tumultuous manner. Though his military successes might have justified this prepossession of the licentious multitude, yet this did not prevent the governor from declaring Bacon a traitor to his country. A sentence so severe, and which was imprudent at the time, determined Bacon to assume a power by force which he had exercised peaceably and without opposition for six months. His death put a stop to all his projects. The malecontents, disunited by the death of their chief, and intimidated by the troops which were coming from Europe, were induced to sue for pardon, which was readily granted them. This insurrection, therefore, was attended with no bad consequences. Mercy insured obedience; and since that remarkable crisis the history of Virginia has been confined to the account of its plantations.

Admini-
stration of
Virginia.

THIS great establishment was governed at the beginning by persons placed at the head of it by the company. Virginia afterwards attracted the attention of the mother country, which in 1620 gave it a regular form of government, composed of a chief, a council and deputies from each county; to whose united care the interests of the province were committed. At first, the council and representatives of the people used to meet in the same room, as they do in Scotland. But in 1689 they divided, and had each their separate chamber, in imitation of the parliament of England. This custom has been continued ever since.

THE governor, who is always appointed by the king, and for an unlimited period, has the sole disposal of the regular troops, the militia and of all military employments, as well as the power of approving or rejecting whatever laws are proposed by the general assembly. Besides this, with the concurrence of the council, to which

which he leaves very little power in other matters, he may either prorogue or entirely dissolve this kind of parliament: he chuses all the magistrates, and all the collectors of the revenue; he alienates the unoccupied lands in a manner suitable to the established forms, and disposes of the public treasure. So many prerogatives, which lead on to usurpation, render government more arbitrary at Virginia than it is in the more northern colonies: they frequently open the door to oppression.

THE council is composed of 12 members, created either by letters patent, or by particular order from the king. When there happens to be less than nine in the country, the governor chuses three out of the principal inhabitants to make up the number. They form a kind of upper-house, and are at the same time to assist the administration, and to counteract tyranny. They have also the power of rejecting all acts passed in the lower house. The salaries of the whole body amount to no more than 7,875 livres, (384*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* halfp.)

VIRGINIA is divided into 25 counties, each of which sends two deputies. James-town, and the college have each of them separately the right of naming one, which make up in all 52. Every inhabitant possessed of a freehold, except only women and minors, has the right of election, and that of being elected. Though there is no time fixed by law for holding the general assembly, it commonly meets either once a year, or once in every two years; and the meeting is very seldom deferred till three. The frequency of these meetings is infallibly kept up by the precaution of granting supplies only for a short time. All acts passed in the two houses must be sent over to the sovereign to receive his sanction, but till that re-

turns,

BOOK turns, they are always in force, when they have been
IV. approved by the governor.

THE public revenues of Virginia are collected from different sources, and appropriated in different manners. The tax of 2 livres, 5 sols, (1*s.* 11*d.* halfp.) upon every quintal of tobacco; that of 16 livres, 17 sols, and 6 deniers (14*s.* 9*d.*) per ton, which every vessel, full or empty, is obliged to pay at its return from a voyage; that of 11 livres, 5 sols (9*s.* 10*d.*) a head exacted from all passengers, slaves as well as freemen, upon their arrival in the colony; the penalties and forfeitures appointed by different acts of the province; the duty upon both the lands and personal estates of those who leave no legitimate heir; these different impositions, which together amount to 70,000 livres, (3,062*l.* 10*s.*) are to be employed in the current expences of the colony, according to the direction of the governor and the council. The general assembly has nothing more to do in this matter but to audit the accounts.

THIS assembly, however, has reserved to itself the sole disposition of the funds raised for extraordinary services. These arise from a duty of entrance upon strong liquors, from one of 22 livres, 10 sols (19*s.* 8*d.* farth.) upon every slave, and one of 16 livres, 17 sols, (about 14*s.* 9*d.*) upon every servant, being not an Englishman, that enters the colony. A revenue of this nature must be extremely variable, but in general it is pretty considerable, and has been usually well administered.

BESIDES these taxes, which are paid in money, there are others paid in kind. They are a sort of a triple poll tax on the article of tobacco, which the white women only are exempted from. The first is raised by order of the general assembly, for the purpose of paying the expences

expences of its meeting, for that of the militia, and for some other national exigences. The second, which is called provincial, is imposed by the justices of the peace in each county for its particular uses. The third is parochial, raised by the chief persons of the community, for every thing that has more or less connection with the established form of worship.

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IN the beginning justice was administered with that kind of disinterestedness, which was itself the security for the equity observed in it. One single court had the cognizance of all causes, and used to decide them in a few days, leaving only an appeal to the general assembly, which was not less diligent in terminating them. So good a system did not continue long: in 1692 all the statutes and formalities of the mother country, were adopted, and all the chicanery of it was introduced along with them. Since that time every county has its distinct tribunal composed of a sheriff, his under officers and juries. From these courts all causes are carried to the council, where the governor presides; who has the power of determining finally in all concerns as far as 6,750 livres, (about 295*l*.) If the sums contended for are more considerable, the contest may be referred to the king: in all criminal matters, the council pronounces without appeal, not that the life of a citizen is of less consequence than his property, but because the application of the law is much easier in criminal, than in civil causes. The governor has the right of pardoning in all cases but those of wilful murder and high treason, and even in these he may suspend the execution of the sentence till he knows the king's pleasure.

WITH respect to religion, the inhabitants not only began themselves by professing that of the church of England,

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England, but in 1642 the assembly passed a decree, which indirectly excluded all those who should not be of that communion from the province. The necessity of peopling the country soon occasioned the repeal of this law, which was rather of a hierarchal than of a religious nature. A toleration granted so late, and evidently with reluctance, produced no great effect. Only five non-conformist churches were added to the colony, one of which consisted of presbyterians, three of quakers, and one of French refugees.

THE mother church has 39 parishes. Every parish chooses its minister, who must, however, be approved of by the governor before he takes possession. In some parishes he is paid in land, and furnished with all the necessary instruments for cultivating it; in others, his salary is 16,000 pounds weight of tobacco. Besides this he receives either 5 livres, 12 sols, 6 deniers, (about 4*s*. 11*d*.) or fifty pounds of tobacco for every marriage; and 45 livres, (1*l*. 19*s*. 4*d*. halfp.) or four hundred pounds of tobacco for every funeral sermon, which he is obliged to make over the grave of every free man. With all these advantages, the clergy seem not contented, because they may be deprived of their benefices by those who conferred them.

AT first the colony was inhabited only by men; soon after they grew desirous of sharing the sweets of their situation with female companions. In the beginning they gave 2,250 livres (98*l*. 8*s*. 9*d*.) for every young person that was brought them, from whom they required no other dowry than a certificate of virtue. When the salubrity and fertility of the climate were ascertained, whole families, and even some of respectable condition, went over to settle in Virginia. In time they increased to such a degree, that in 1703 there were already 66,606 white people in the colony.

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If since that time they have not increased above a sixth, it must be attributed to a pretty considerable emigration occasioned by the arrival of the blacks.

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THE first of these slaves were brought into Virginia by a Dutch ship in 1621. Their number was not considerable at first, but the increase of them has been so prodigious since the beginning of this century, that there are at present 110,000 negroes in the colony; which occasions a double loss to mankind, first in exhausting the population of Africa, and secondly in preventing that of the Europeans in America.

VIRGINIA has neither fortified places nor regular troops; they would be useless in a province, which from its situation and the nature of its productions, is protected both from foreign invasions, and the incursions of the savages wandering about this vast continent, who have long been too weak to attack it. The militia, which is composed of all the free-men from sixteen to sixty years of age, is sufficient to keep the slaves in order. Every county reviews all its troops once, and the separate companies three or four times a year. Upon the least alarm, given in any particular part of the country, all the forces in it march. If they are out more than two days, they receive pay; if not, it is reckoned a part of their stated service. Such is the government of Virginia, and such is very nearly that of Maryland; which, after having been included in this colony, was separated from it for reasons which must be explained.

CHARLES the first, far from having any aversion for the catholics, had some reason to protect them, from the zeal, which, in hopes of being tolerated, they had shewn for his interest. But when the accusation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak prince, whose chief aim was to establish a despotic government, he was obliged to give

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the catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted against them by Henry the eighth. These circumstances induced lord Baltimore to seek an asylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conscience. As he found there no toleration for an exclusive faith, which was itself intolerant, he formed the design of a new settlement in that uninhabited part of the country, which lay between the river of Potowmack and Pennsylvania. His death, which happened soon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a stop to the project for that time, but it was resumed from the same religious motives by his son. This young nobleman left England in the year 1633, with two hundred Roman catholics, most of them of good families. The education they had received, the cause of religion for which they left their country, and the fortune which their leader promised them, prevented those disturbances which are but too common in infant settlements. The neighbouring savages, prevailed upon by mildness and acts of beneficence, concurred with eagerness to assist the new colonists in forming their settlement. With this unexpected help these fortunate persons, attached to each other by the same principles of religion, and directed by the prudent councils of their chief, applied themselves unanimously to every kind of useful labour: the view of the peace and happiness they enjoyed, invited among them a number of men who were either persecuted for the same religion, or for different opinions.

THE catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themselves had been the victims after having first set the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all sects of what religious principles soever. Baltimore also granted the most extensive civil liberty to every stranger
who

who chose to purchase lands in his new colony, the government of which was modelled upon that of the mother country.

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THESE wise and generous precautions, however, did not secure the governor, at the time of the subversion of the monarchy, from losing all the rights and concessions that he had obtained. Deprived of his possessions by Cromwell, he was restored to them by Charles the second; after which they were again disputed with him. Though he was perfectly clear from any reproach of mal-administration, and though he was extremely zealous for the Tramontane doctrines, and much attached to the interests of the Stuarts, yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James the second; and of being obliged to maintain an action at law for the jurisdiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himself had peopled. This prince, whose misfortune it had always been never to have known his friends from his foes; and who had also the ridiculous pride to think that regal authority was sufficient to justify every act of violence, was preparing a second time to deprive Baltimore, of what had been given him by the two kings, his father and his brother; when he was himself removed from the throne which he so ill filled. The successor of this weak despotic prince terminated this contest, which had arisen before his accession to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character. He left the Baltimores in possession of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority, which, however, they likewise recovered upon becoming members of the church of England.

THE province is at present divided into eleven counties, and inhabited by 40,000 white men, and 60,000 blacks. It is governed by a chief, who is named by the

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Virginia
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proprietor, and by a council and two deputies chosen in each county. The governor, like the king in the other colonies, has a negative voice in all acts proposed by the assembly, that is to say, the right of rejecting them.

If Maryland were re-united to Virginia, as their common interest seems to require, no difference could be found between the two settlements. They are situated between Pennsylvania and Carolina, and occupy the great space that extends from the sea to the Apalachian mountains. The air, which is damp on the coast, becomes light, pure and subtile; as one approaches the mountains. The spring and autumn months are of an excellent temperature: in summer there are some days excessively hot, and in winter some extremely cold; but neither of these excesses lasts above a week at a time. The most disagreeable circumstance in the climate is the abundance of nauseous insects that are found there.

ALL the domestic animals multiply prodigiously; and all sorts of fruits, trees and vegetables succeed there extremely well. There is the best corn in all America. The soil, which is rich and fertile in the low lands, is always good, even in those places where it becomes sandy; more irregular than it is described by some travellers, but tolerably even till one comes near the mountains.

FROM these reservoirs an incredible number of rivers flow, most of which are separated only by an interval of five or six miles. Besides the fertility which these waters impart to the country they pass through, they also make it infinitely more convenient for trade than any other part of the new world, by facilitating the communications.

MOST of these rivers have a very extensive inland navigation for merchant ships, and some of them for men of war. One may go near two hundred miles up the Potowmack, above eighty up the James, the York, and the

the Rapahannock, and upon the other rivers to a distance that varies according as the cataracts are more or less distant from their mouths. All these navigable canals, formed by nature, meet in the bay of Chesapeak, which has from seven to nine fathom water both at its entrance and in its whole extent. It reaches above two hundred miles in the inland parts of the country, and is about twelve miles in its main breadth. Though it is full of small islands, most of them covered with wood, it is by no means dangerous, and so large that all the ships in the universe might ride there with ease.

So uncommon an advantage has prevented the formation of any large towns in the two colonies, and accordingly the inhabitants who were assured that the ships would come up to their warehouses, and that they might embark their commodities without going from their own houses, have dispersed themselves upon the borders of the several rivers. In this situation, they found all the pleasures of a rural life, united to all the ease that trade brings into cities; they found the facility of extending their cultivation in a country that had no bounds, united to all the assistance which the fertilization of the lands receives from commerce. But the mother country suffered a double inconvenience from this dispersion of the colonists; first, because her sailors were longer absent, from being obliged to collect their cargoes from these scattered habitations; and secondly, because their ships are exposed to injury from those dangerous insects, which in the months of June and July infect all the rivers of this distant region. The ministry has therefore neglected no means of engaging the colonists to establish staples for the reception of their commodities. The constraint of the laws has not had more effect than persuasion. At length, a few years ago, forts were ordered to be built at the en-

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trance of every river, to protect the loading and unloading of the ships. If this project had not failed in the execution from the want of a sufficient fund, it is probable that the inhabitants would have settled imperceptibly round each of these fortresses. But it may still be a question whether this circumstance would not have proved fatal to population; and whether agriculture might not have lost as much as commerce would have gained by it.

BE this as it may, it is certain that there are but two towns at present of any kind of note in the two colonies. Even those which are the seat of government are of no great importance. Williamsburgh, the capital of Virginia, and Annapolis that of Maryland, the first risen upon the ruins of James town, the other upon those of St. Mary, are neither of them superior to one of our common villages.

As in all human affairs, every good is attended with some kind of evil, so it has happened, that the extension of habitations by retarding the population of towns, has prevented any artists or manufacturers from being formed in either of the provinces. With all the materials necessary to supply them with most of their wants, and even with several of their conveniences, they are still obliged to draw from Europe their cloths, linens, hats, hardware, and even furniture of the most ordinary kind.

THESE numerous and general expences have exhausted the inhabitants; besides which they have vied with each other in displaying every kind of luxury before all the English merchants, who visit their plantations from motives of commercial interest. By these means, they have run so much in debt with the mother country, that many of them have been obliged to sell their lands; or, in order still to keep possession of them, to mortgage them at an usurious interest of eight or nine per cent.

It will be no easy matter for the two provinces ever to emerge from this desperate state. Their navy does not amount to above a thousand tons, and all they send to the Caribee islands in corn, cattle and planks; all they expedite for Europe in hemp, flax, leather, skins and walnut-tree or cedar-wood, does not bring them a return of more than a million. (43,750*l.*) The only resource they have left is in tobacco.

TOBACCO is a sharp, caustic and even venomous plant, which has been formerly of great repute, and is still used in medicine. Every body is acquainted with the general consumption made of it, by chewing, smoking or taking snuff. It was discovered in the year 1520 by the Spaniards, who found it first in the Jucatan, a large peninsula in the gulph of Mexico, whence it was carried into the neighbouring islands. Soon after, the use of it became a matter of dispute among the learned, which the ignorant also took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired some reputation. By degrees fashion and custom have greatly extended its consumption in all parts of the known world. It is at present cultivated with more or less success in Europe, Asia, Africa and several parts of America.

THE stem of this plant is straight, hairy and viscid; and its leaves are thick, flabby, and of a pale green colour. They are larger at the bottom than at the summit of the plant. It requires a soil of a good consistence, but rich, even and deep, and not too much exposed to inundations. A virgin soil is very fit for this vegetable, which requires a great deal of sap.

THE seeds of the tobacco are sown in layers. When it has grown to the height of two inches, and has got, at least, half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up in

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damp weather, and transplanted with great care into a well-prepared soil, where the plants are placed at the distance of three feet from each other. When they are put into the ground with these precautions, their leaves do not suffer the least injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four and twenty hours.

THE cultivation of tobacco requires continual attention. The weeds which gather about it must be plucked up; the head of it must be cut off when it is the size of two feet and a half, to prevent it from growing too high; it must be stripped of all sprouting suckers; the leaves which grow too low down upon the stem, those that are in the least inclined to decay, and those which the insects have touched, must all be removed, and their number reduced to eight or ten at most. A single industrious man is able to take care of two thousand, five hundred plants, which ought to yield one thousand weight of tobacco. It is left about four months in the ground. As it advances to maturity, the pleasant and lively green colour of its leaves is changed into a darker hue; the leaves are also curved, and the smell they exhale is increased, and extends to a greater distance. The plant is then ripe and must be cut.

THE plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the same ground that produced them, where they are left to exsude only for one night. The next day they are laid up in warehouses, constructed in such a manner, that the air may not have a free access to them on all sides. Here they are left separately suspended as long a time as is necessary to dry them well. They are then spread upon hurdles and well covered over, where they ferment for a week or two. At last they are stripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made up into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which

which vary according to the different tastes of the several nations that use it, have nothing to do with its cultivation. BOOK
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Of all the countries in which tobacco has been planted, there is none where it has answered so well as in Maryland and Virginia. As it was the only occupation of the first planters, they often cultivated much more than they could find a sale for. They were then obliged to stop the growth of the plantations in Virginia, and to burn a certain number of plants in every habitation throughout Maryland. But in process of time the uses of this herb became so general that they have been obliged to increase the number both of the whites and blacks who are employed in preparing it. At present each of the provinces furnishes nearly an equal quantity. That from Virginia, which is the mildest, the most perfumed, and the dearest, is consumed in England and in the southern parts of Europe. That of Maryland is fitter for the northern climates, from its cheapness, and even from its coarseness, which makes it better adapted to less delicate organs.

As navigation has not yet made the same progress in these provinces, as in the rest of North-America, the tobacco is commonly transported in the ships of the mother country. They are very often three, four, and even six months in completing their cargo. This delay arises from several very evident causes. First, as there are no magazines or general receptacles for the tobacco, it is necessary to go and fetch it from the several plantations. Secondly, few planters are able to load a whole ship if they would, and if they were, they would not chuse to venture their whole upon one bottom. In short, as the price of the freight is fixed, and is always the same, whether the articles are ready for embarkation or not, the planters wait till they are pressed by the captains themselves

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themselves to hasten the exportation. All these several reasons are the cause why vessels only of a moderate size are generally employed upon this service. The larger they would be, the longer time they would be detained in America.

VIRGINIA always pays forty-five livres (1*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* halfp.) freight for every barrel of tobacco, and Maryland only 39 livres, 5 sols, 6 deniers. (1*l.* 14*s.* 5*d.* farth.) This difference is owing to the less value of the merchandise, and to the greater expedition made in loading it. The English merchant loses by the carriage; but it is made up to him by the commissions. As he is always employed in all the sales and purchases made for the colonists, he is amply compensated for his losses and his trouble, by an allowance of five per cent. upon these commissions.

THIS navigation employs two hundred and fifty ships, which make up in all 30,000 tons. They take in a hundred thousand barrels of tobacco from the two colonies, which, at the rate of eight hundred pounds a barrel, make eighty millions of pounds weight. That part of the commodity which grows between York and James rivers, and in some other places, is extremely dear; but the whole taken upon an average sells only for four sols, three deniers (not 2*d.* farth.) a pound in England, which makes in all 16,875,000 livres. (738,281*l.* 5*s.*) Besides the advantage it is of to England to exchange its manufactures to the amount of this sum, it gains another by the re-exportation of four fifths of the tobacco. This alone is an object of 10,125,000 livres, (442,968*l.* 15*s.*) besides what is to be reckoned for freight and commission.

THE custom-house duties are a still more considerable object to government. There is a tax of 11 sols,
10 deniers

10 deniers and a half (about 6d. farth.) upon every pound of tobacco that enters the kingdom; this, supposing the whole eighty millions of pounds imported to remain in it, would bring the state 47,499,997 livres, 10 sols, (2,078,124*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* 3 farth.) but as four fifths are re-exported, and all the duties are remitted upon that portion, the public revenue gains only 19,000,000 livres, 2 sols, 7 deniers (831,250*l.* or. 1*d.* farth.) Experience teaches that a third of this must be deducted for prompt payment of what the merchant has a right to be eighteen months in paying, and to allow for the smuggling that is carried on in the small as well as in the large ports. This deduction will amount to 6,333,351 livres, 18 sols, 6 deniers, (277,084*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* farth.) and there will consequently remain for government no more than 12,666,715 livres, 17 sols, 6 deniers. (554,168*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* halfp.)

NOTWITHSTANDING these last abuses, Virginia and Maryland are much more advantageous to Great Britain than the other northern colonies; more so even than Carolina:

CAROLINA extends three hundred miles along the coast, which is two hundred miles broad, as far as the Apalachian mountains. It was discovered by the Spaniards, soon after the first expeditions in the new world; but as they found no gold there to satisfy their avarice, they despised it. Admiral Coligny, with more prudence and ability, opened an asylum there to the industry of the French protestants; but the fanaticism that pursued them soon destroyed all their hopes, which were totally lost in the murder of that just, humane and enlightened man. Some English succeeded them towards the end of the 16th century: who, by an unaccountable caprice, were induced to abandon this fertile soil,

Origin of
Carolina.

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System of
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and civil
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blished by
Locke in
Carolina.

foil, in order to go and cultivate a more ungrateful land, and in a less agreeable climate.

THERE was not a single European remaining in Carolina, when the lords Berkeley, Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven and Ashley; Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley and Sir William Colleton obtained from Charles the second in 1663 a grant of that fine country. The plan of government for this new colony was laid down by the famous Locke. A philosopher, who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and justice which ought to be the rule of their actions, could not find better means to oppose the prevalence of fanaticism, than by an unlimited toleration in matters of religion; but not daring openly to attack the prejudices of his time, which were as much the effect of the virtues as of the crimes of the age, he endeavoured, at least, to reconcile them, if possible, with a principle of reason and humanity. The wild inhabitants of America, said he, have no idea of a revelation; it would, therefore, be the height of extravagance to make them suffer for their ignorance. The different sects of christians, who might come to people the colony, would, without doubt, expect a liberty of conscience there, which priests and princes refuse them in Europe: nor should Jews or Pagans be rejected on account of a blindness, which lenity and persuasion might contribute to remove. Such was the reasoning of Mr. Locke with men prejudiced and influenced by opinions, which no one hitherto had taken the liberty to call in question. Disgusted with the troubles and misfortunes which the different systems of religion had given birth to in Europe, they readily acquiesced in the arguments he proposed to them. They admitted toleration in the same manner as intolerance is received, without examining into the merits of it: The only restriction laid upon this saving

saving principle was, that every person, claiming the protection of that settlement, should at the age of seventeen register themselves in some particular communion.

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THE English philosopher was not so favourable to civil liberty. Whether it were, that those, who had fixed upon him to trace out a plan of government, had restrained his views, as will be the case with every writer, who employs his pen for great men, or ministers; or whether Locke, being more of a metaphysician than a statesman, pursued philosophy only in those tracts which had been opened by Descartes and Leibnitz; the same man, who had dissipated and destroyed so many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the path of legislation. The author of a work, whose continuance will render the glory of the French nation immortal, even when tyranny shall have broken all the springs, and all the monuments of the genius, and merit of a people esteemed by the whole world for so many amiable and brilliant qualities; even Montesquieu himself did not perceive that he was making men for governments, instead of making governments for men.

THE code of Carolina, by a singularity not to be accounted for in an Englishman and a philosopher, gave to the eight proprietors, who founded the settlement and to their heirs, not only all the rights of a monarch, but likewise all the powers of legislation.

THE court, which was composed of this sovereign body, and was called, the Palatine Court, was invested with the right of nominating to all employments and dignities, and even with that of conferring nobility; but under new and unprecedented titles. For instance, they were to create, in each county, two Caciques, each of whom was to be possessed of twenty-four thousand
acres

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acres of land; and a Landgrave, who was to be possessed of fourscore thousand. The persons, on whom these honours should be bestowed, were to compose the upper house; and their possessions were made unalienable; a circumstance totally inconsistent with good policy. They had only the right of farming or letting out a third part of them at the most for the continuance of three lives.

THE lower house was formed of the deputies from the several counties and towns. The number of this representative body was to be increased in proportion as the colony grew more populous. No tenant was to pay more than one livre, two sols and six deniers per acre; (about a shilling.) and even this rent was redeemable. All the inhabitants, however, both slaves and freemen, were under an obligation to take arms upon the first order they should receive from the Palatine Court.

It was not long before the errors of a constitution, in which the powers of the state were so unequally divided, began to discover themselves. The proprietary lords, influenced by despotic principles, used every endeavour to establish an arbitrary government. On the other hand, the colonists, who were not ignorant of the general right of mankind, exerted themselves with equal zeal to avoid servitude. From this struggle of opposite interests arose an inevitable confusion, which put a stop to every useful effort of industry. The whole province, distracted with quarrels, dissensions and tumults, was rendered incapable of making any progress, whatever improvements had been expected from the peculiar advantages of its situation.

NOR were these evils sufficient: new ones arose, as if a remedy could only be attained from an excess of grievances. Granville, who, as the oldest of the proprietors,

prietors, was in 1705 sole governor of the colony, formed the resolution of obliging all the non-conformists, who made up two thirds of the people, to embrace the forms of worship established in England. This act of violence, though disavowed, and rejected by the mother country, inflamed the minds of the people. In 1720, while this animosity was still prevailing, the province was attacked by several bands of savages, driven to despair by a continued course of the most atrocious insolence and injustice. Those unfortunate wretches were all conquered and all put to the sword: but the courage and vigour, which this war revived in the breasts of the colonists, was the prelude to the fall of their oppressors. Those tyrants having refused to contribute to the expences of an expedition, the immediate benefits of which they claimed to themselves, were all excepting Carteret, who still preserved one eighth of the country, stripped in 1728 of their prerogatives, which they had only known how to make an ill use of. They received however 540,000 livres (23,625*l.*) by way of compensation. From this time, the crown resumed the government, and in order to give the colony a foretaste of its moderation, bestowed on it the same constitution as on the others. It was further divided into two separate governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to facilitate the administration of it. It is from this happy period, that the prosperity of this great province is to be dated.

THERE is not, perhaps, throughout the new world a climate to be compared with that of Carolina. The two seasons of the year, which, for the most part, only moderate the excesses of the two others, are here delightful. The heats of the summer are not excessive; and the cold of the winter is only felt in the mornings and

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and pro-
duce of
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and evenings. The fogs, which are always common upon a coast of any length, are dispersed before the middle of the day. But on the other hand, here, as well as in every other part almost of America, the inhabitants are subject to such sudden and violent changes of weather, as oblige them to observe a regularity in their diet and cloathing, which would be unnecessary in a more settled climate. Another inconvenience, peculiar to this tract of the northern continent, is that of being tormented with hurricanes; but these are less frequent and less violent than in the islands.

A vast, melancholy, uniform, unvaried plain extends from the sea-shore fourscore or a hundred miles within land. From this distance the country, beginning to rise, affords a more pleasing prospect, a purer and dryer air. This part, before the arrival of the English, was covered with one immense forest, reaching as far as the Apalachian mountains. It consisted of large trees growing, as nature had cast them, without order or design, at unequal distances, and not encumbered with underwood: by which means more land could be cleared here in a week, than in several months, among us.

THE soil of Carolina is very various. On the coast and about the mouths of the rivers, which fall into the sea, it is either covered with impracticable and unhealthful morasses, or made up of a pale, light, sandy earth, which produces nothing. In one part it is barren to an extreme; in another, among the numberless streams that divide the country, it is excessively fruitful. At a distance from the coasts, there are found sometimes large wastes of white sand, which produce nothing but pines; at others there are lands, where the oak and the wall-nut-tree announce fertility. These alternatives and variations

variations cease, when you get into the inland parts; and the country every where is agreeable and rich.

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ADMIRABLY adapted as these spots are for the purposes of cultivation, the province does not want others equally favourable for the breeding of cattle. Thousands of horned cattle are raised here, which go out in the morning without a herdsman to feed in the woods, and return home at night of their own accord. Their hogs, which are suffered to fatten themselves in the same manner, are still more numerous and much better in their kind. But mutton degenerates there both in flesh and wool. For this reason, it is less common.

IN 1723, the whole colony consisted of no more than four thousand white people, and thirty-two thousand blacks. Its exportations to other parts of America and to Europe did not exceed 4,950,000 livres. (216,562*l.* 10*s.*) Since that time it hath acquired a degree of splendour, which it owes entirely to the enjoyment of liberty.

SOUTH CAROLINA, though it hath succeeded in establishing a considerable barter trade with the savages, hath gained a manufacture of linens by means of the French refugees, and invented a new kind of stuff by mixing the silk it produces with its wool; yet is its progress principally to be attributed to the produce of rice and indigo.

THE first of these articles was brought there by an accident. A ship, on its return from India, ran aground on this coast. It was laden with rice, which, being tossed on shore by the waves, grew up again. This unexpected good fortune led them to try the cultivation of a commodity, which the soil seemed of itself to require. For a long time little progress was made in it; because the colonists being obliged to send their crops to the mo-

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ther country, whence they were shipped again for Spain and Portugal, where the consumption was, sold them at so low a price, that it scarce answered the expences of cultivation. Since 1730, when government gave them permission to export and sell their grain themselves at foreign markets, an increase of profit has produced an additional growth of the commodity. The quantity is at present greatly augmented and may be still more; but whether so much to the benefit of the colony is doubtful. Of all productions rice is the most detrimental to the salubrity of the climate; at least, it hath been esteemed so in the Milanese, where the peasants on the rice-grounds are all of them fallow complexioned and dropical; and in France, where that article hath been totally prohibited. Egypt had, without doubt, its precautions against the ill effects of a grain in other respects so nutritious. China must also have its preservatives, which art sets up against nature, whose favours are sometimes attended with pernicious consequences. Perhaps, also, under the torrid zone, where rice grows in the greatest abundance, the heat, which makes it flourish in the midst of water, quickly disperses the moist and noxious vapours, that exhale from the rice-fields. But if the cultivation of rice should one day come to be neglected in Carolina, that of indigo will make ample amends for it.

THIS plant, which is a native of Indostan, was first brought to perfection in Mexico, and the Leeward islands. It was tried later and with less success in South-Carolina. This principal ingredient in dying is there of so inferior a quality, that it is scarce sold at half the price it bears in other places. Yet those, who cultivate it, do not despair, in time, of supplanting both the Spaniards and the French at every market. The goodness

goodness of their climate, the extent of their lands, the plenty and cheapness of their provisions, the opportunities they have of supplying themselves with utensils, and of procuring slaves; every thing, in short, flatters their expectation: and the same hope has always extended itself to the inhabitants of North-Carolina.

It is well known that this country was the first on the continent of the new world, on which the English landed; for here is the bay of Roanoak, which Raleigh took possession of in 1585. A total emigration, in a short time, left it destitute of colonists; nor did it begin to be re-peopled, even when large settlements were formed in the neighbouring countries. We cannot otherwise account for this dereliction, than from the obstacles which trading vessels had to encounter in this beautiful region. None of its rivers are deep enough to admit ships of more than seventy or eighty tons. Those of greater burthen are forced to anchor between the continent and some adjacent islands. The tenders which are employed in lading and unlading them augment the expence and trouble both of their exports and imports.

FROM this circumstance, probably, it was, that North-Carolina in the beginning was inhabited only by a set of wretches without name, laws, or profession. In proportion as the lands in the neighbouring colonies grew more scarce, those, who were not able to purchase them, betook themselves to a country where they could get lands without purchase. Refugees of other kinds, availed themselves of the same resource. Order and property became established at the same time; and this colony, with fewer advantages than South-Carolina, obtained a greater number of European settlers.

THE first people, whom chance dispersed along these savage coasts, confined themselves to the breeding of

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cattle, and cutting wood, which were taken off their hands by the merchants of New-England. In a short time they contrived to make the pine-tree produce them turpentine, tar, and pitch. For the turpentine they had nothing to do but to make two flits in the trunk of the tree, about a foot in length, at the bottom of which they placed vessels to receive it. When they wanted tar, they raised a circular platform of potter's earth, on which they laid piles of pine-wood: to these they set fire and the resin distilled from them into casks placed underneath. The tar was converted into pitch, either in great iron pots, in which they boiled it, or in pits formed of potter's earth, into which it was poured while in a fluid state. This labour, however, was not sufficient for the maintenance of the inhabitants: they then proceeded to grow corn; and for a long time were contented with maize, as their neighbours in South-Carolina were obliged to be, where the wheat being subject to mildew, and to exhaust itself in straw, never throve. But several experiments having proved to the North-Carolinians that they were not liable to the same inconvenience, they succeeded so far in the cultivation of that grain, that they were even able to supply a considerable exportation. Rice and indigo have been but lately introduced into this province to join the harvests of Africa and Asia to those of Europe. The cultivation of them is but yet in its infancy.

THERE is scarce one twentieth part of the territory belonging to the two Carolinas that is cleared; and, at this time, the only cultivated spots are those which are the most sandy and the nearest to the sea. The reason, why the colonists have not settled further back in the country is, that of ten navigable rivers, there is not one that will admit shipping higher than sixty miles. This in-

inconvenience is not to be remedied but by making roads or canals; and works of that kind require so many hands, and so much expence and knowledge, that the hopes of such an improvement are still very distant.

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NEITHER of the colonies, however, have reason to complain of their lot. The imposts, which are all levied on the exportation and importation of merchandise, do not exceed 135,000 livres, (5,906*l.* 5*s.*) The paper-currency of North-Carolina does not amount to more than 1,125,000 livres; (49,118*l.* 15*s.*) and that of South-Carolina, which is infinitely more wealthy, is only 5,625,000 livres, (246,093*l.* 15*s.*) Neither of them are in debt to the mother country; and this advantage, which is not common even in the English colonies, they derive from the great amount of their exportations to the neighbouring provinces, the Leeward islands, and to Europe.

IN 1754, there were exported from South-Carolina, seven hundred and fifty-nine barrels of turpentine; two thousand, nine hundred and forty-three of tar; five thousand, eight hundred and sixty-nine of pitch or rosin; four hundred and sixteen barrels of beef; fifteen hundred and sixty of pork; sixteen thousand four hundred bushels of Indian corn; and nine thousand, one hundred and sixty-two of peas; four thousand, one hundred and eighty tanned hides, and twelve hundred in the hair; one million, one hundred and forty thousand planks; two hundred and six thousand joists; and three hundred and eighty-five thousand feet of timber; eight hundred and eighty-two hogheads of wild deer-skins; one hundred and four thousand, six hundred and eighty-two barrels of rice; two hundred and sixteen thousand, nine hundred and eighty-four pounds of indigo.

IN the same year North-Carolina exported sixty-one thousand, five hundred and twenty-eight barrels of tar;

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twelve thousand and fifty-five of pitch; and ten thousand, four hundred and twenty-nine of turpentine; seven hundred and sixty-two thousand, three hundred and thirty planks; and two thousand six hundred and forty-seven feet of timber; sixty-one thousand, five hundred bushels of wheat, and ten thousand of peas; three thousand, three hundred barrels of beef and pork; one hundred hogsheds of tobacco; ten thousand hundred-weight of tanned hides, and thirty thousand skins of different kinds.

IN the above account, there is not a single article that has not been considerably increased since that time. Several of them have been doubled, and the most valuable of all, the indigo, has increased to three times the quantity.

SOME productions of North-Carolina are exported to Europe and the Caribbees, though there is no staple town to receive them; and that Edinton, the ancient capital of the province, as well as that which hath been built in lieu of it upon the river Neus, can scarce be considered as small villages. The largest and most valuable part of its exports is conveyed to Charlestown, to increase the riches of South-Carolina.

THIS town lies between the two navigable rivers, Cooper and Ashley; surrounded by the most beautiful plantations of the colony, of which it is the centre and the capital. It is well built, intersected with several agreeable streets, and its fortifications are tolerably regular. The large fortunes that have been made there from the accession and circulation of its trade, must necessarily have had some influence upon the manners of the people: of all the towns in North America, it is the one in which the conveniencies of luxury are most to be met with. But the disadvantage its road labours under,

under, of not being able to admit of ships of above two hundred tons, will make it lose its present splendor. It will be deserted for Port Royal, which admits vessels of all kinds into its harbour, and in great numbers. A settlement has already been formed there, which is continually increasing, and may most probably meet with the greatest success. Besides the production of North and South-Carolina, that will naturally come to its market, it will also receive those of Georgia, a colony that has been lately established near it.

CAROLINA and Spanish Florida are separated from each other by a great tract of land which extends one hundred and twenty miles upon the sea coast, and three hundred miles from thence to the Apalachian mountains, and whose boundaries to the north and south are the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha. The English ministry had been long desirous of erecting a colony on this tract of country, that was considered as dependent upon Carolina. One of those instances of benevolence which liberty the source of every patriotic virtue renders more frequent in England than in any other country, served to determine the views of government, with regard to this place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of his estate to set at liberty such insolvent debtors as were detained in prison by their creditors. Prudential reasons of policy concurred in the performance of this will dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that such unhappy prisoners, as were released, should be transplanted into that desert country, that was now intended to be peopled; it was named Georgia in honour of the reigning sovereign.

Founda-
tion of
Georgia.

THIS instance of respect, the more pleasing, as it was not the effect of flattery; the execution of a design of so much real advantage to the state, were en-

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tirely the work of the nation. The parliament added 225,000 livres (9,843*l.* 15*s.*) to the estate left by the will of the citizen; and a voluntary subscription produced a much more considerable sum. General Oglethorpe, a man, who had distinguished himself in the house of commons by his taste for great designs, by his zeal for his country, and his passion for glory, was fixed upon to direct these public finances, and to carry into execution so excellent a project. Desirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired, he chose to conduct himself the first colonists that were to be sent to Georgia; where he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his people on a spot at ten miles distance from the sea, in an agreeable and fertile plain on the banks of the Savannah. This rising settlement was called Savannah from the name of the river; and inconsiderable as it was in its infant state, was, however, to become the capital of a flourishing colony. It consisted at first of no more than one hundred persons, but before the end of the year the number was increased to 618; 127 of whom had emigrated at their own expence. Three hundred men, and 113 women, 102 lads, and 83 girls, formed the beginning of this new population, and the hopes of a numerous posterity.

THIS settlement was increased in 1735 by the arrival of some Scotch Highlanders. Their national courage induced them to accept an establishment offered them upon the borders of the Alatomaha, to defend the colony, if necessary, against the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the towns of Darien and Frederica, and several of their countrymen came over to settle among them.

IN the same year, a great number of protestants driven out of Saltzburg by a fanatical priest, embarked for
Georgia

Georgia to enjoy peace and liberty of conscience. At first they settled on a spot situated just above that of the infant colony; but they afterwards chose to be at a greater distance, and to go as far down as the mouth of the Savannah, where they built a town called Ebenezer.

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SOME Switzers followed the example of these wise Saltzburghers, though they had not, like them, been persecuted. They also settled on the banks of the Savannah; but at the distance of four and thirty miles from the Germans. Their colony, consisting of a hundred habitations, was named Purysburgh, from Pury their founder, who having been at the expence of their settlement, was deservedly chosen their chief, in testimony of their gratitude to him.

IN these four or five colonies, some men were found more inclined to trade than agriculture. These, therefore, separated from the rest in order to build the city Augusta, two hundred and thirty-six miles distant from the ocean. The goodness of the soil, though excellent in itself, was not the motive of their fixing upon this situation; but the facility it afforded them of carrying on the skin trade with the savages. Their project was so successful, that as early as the year 1739, six hundred people were employed in this commerce. The sale of these skins was with much greater facility carried on, from the circumstance of the Savannah admitting the largest ships to sail upon it as far as the walls of Augusta.

The mother country ought, one would imagine, to have formed great expectations from a colony, where she had sent near five thousand men, and laid out 1,485,000 livres, (64,968*l.* 15*s.*) independent of the voluntary contributions that had been raised by zealous patriots. But to her great surprise, she received

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ceived information in 1741, that there remained scarce a sixth part of that numerous colony sent to Georgia; who being now totally discouraged, seemed only desirous to fix in a more favourable situation. The reasons of these calamities were inquired into and discovered.

Impediments that have prevented the progress of Georgia.

THIS colony, even in its infancy, brought with it the seeds of its decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been ceded to individuals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent scheme; but nations as well as individuals do not learn instruction from past misconduct. An enlightened government, though checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard against every misuse of its confidence. The English ministry, though zealously attached to the common welfare, sacrificed the public interest to the rapacious views of interested individuals.

THE first use that the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were invested with, was to establish a system of legislation, that made them entirely masters not only of the police, justice and finances of the country, but even of the lives and estates of its inhabitants. Every species of right was withdrawn from the people, who are the original possessors of them all. Obedience was required of the people, though contrary to their interest and knowledge; and it was considered here, as in other countries, as their duty and their fate.

As great inconveniencies had been found to arise in other colonies from large possessions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty acres of land; which they were not permitted to mortgage, or even to dispose of by will to their female issue. This last regulation of making only the male issue capable of inheritance,

inheritance, was soon abolished; but there still remained too many obstacles to excite a spirit of emulation. It seldom happens, that a man resolves to leave his country but upon the prospect of some great advantage that works strongly upon his imagination. Whatever limits are prescribed to his industry, are, therefore, so many checks which prevent him from engaging in any project. The boundaries assigned to every plantation must necessarily have produced this bad effect. Several other errors still affected the original plan of this colony, which prevented its increase.

THE taxes imposed upon the most fertile of the English colonies, are very inconsiderable, and even these are not levied till the settlements have acquired some degree of vigour and prosperity. From its infant state, Georgia had been subjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it had been as it were fettered. The revenues raised by this kind of service increased prodigiously, in proportion as the colony extended itself. The founders of it, blinded by a spirit of avidity, did not perceive that the smallest duty imposed upon the trade of a populous and flourishing province, would much sooner enrich them than the largest fines laid upon a barren and uncultivated country.

To this species of oppression was added another, which however incredible it may appear, might arise from a spirit of benevolence. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the use of slaves. Carolina and some other colonies having been established without their assistance, it was thought a country destined to be the bulwark of those American possessions, ought not to be peopled by a set of slaves, who could not be in the least interested in the defence of their oppressors. But it was not at the same time foreseen, that colonists, who were less favoured by the mother country, than their neighbours,

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bours, who were situated in a country less susceptible of tillage and in a hotter climate, would want strength and spirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement.

THE indolence which so many obstacles gave rise to, found a further excuse, in another prohibition that had been imposed. The disturbances produced by the use of spirituous liquors over all the continent of North America, induced the founders of Georgia to forbid the importation of Rum. This prohibition, though well intended, deprived the colonists of the only liquor that could correct the bad qualities of the waters of the country, that were generally unwholesome; and of the only means they had to restore the waste of strength and spirits that must be the consequence of incessant labour. Besides this it prevented their commerce with the Antilles, as they could not go thither to barter their wood, corn and cattle that ought to have been their most valuable commodities, in return for the Rum of those islands.

THE mother country, at length, perceived how much these defects in the political regulations and institutions had prevented the increase of the colony, and freed them from the restraints they had before been clogged with; and the government in Georgia was settled upon the same plan as that which had rendered Carolina so flourishing; and instead of being dependent on a few individuals, became one of the national possessions.

THOUGH this colony has not so extensive a territory, so temperate a climate, nor so fertile a soil as the neighbouring province, and though it can never be so flourishing as Carolina, notwithstanding it cultivates rice, indigo, and almost all the same productions, yet it will become advantageous to the mother country, when the apprehensions arising from the tyranny of its government
which

which have with reason prevented people from settling there, are removed. It will one day no longer be asserted, that Georgia is the least populous of all the English colonies upon the continent, notwithstanding the succours government has so amply bestowed upon it. All these advantages will fortunately be increased by the acquisition of Florida; a province, which from its vicinity must necessarily influence the prosperity of Georgia, and which claims our attention from still more important reasons.

UNDER the name of Florida the ambition of Spain comprehended all that tract of land in America, which extends from Mexico to the most northern regions. But fortune, which sports with the vanity of nations, has long since confined this vague description to the peninsula formed by the sea on the channel of Bahama, between Georgia and Louisiana. The Spaniards, who had often satisfied themselves in preventing the population of a country they could not inhabit themselves, were desirous in 1565 of settling on this spot, after having driven the French from it, who had begun the year before to form a small establishment there.

History of
Florida.
Its cession
from the
Spaniards
to the Eng-
lish.

THE most easterly settlement in this colony was known by the name of St. Mattheo. The conquerors would have abandoned it, notwithstanding it was situated on a navigable river at two leagues distance from the sea, in an agreeable and fertile soil, had they not discovered the Sassafras upon it.

THIS tree, a native of America, is better in Florida than in any other part that continent. It grows equally on the borders of the sea and upon the mountains; but always in a soil that is neither too dry, nor too damp. It is straight and lofty, like the fir-tree, without branches, and its top is formed somewhat in the shape

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shape of a cup. It is an ever-green, and its leaves resemble those of a laurel. Its flower, which is yellow, is taken as the mullein and tea in infusion. Its root, which is well known in trade, being very serviceable in medicine, ought to be spongy, light, of a greyish colour; of a sharp, sweetish and aromatic taste; and should have the smell of the fennel and anise. These qualities give it the virtue of promoting perspiration, resolving thick and viscous humours, and relieving palsy and catarrhs. It was formerly much used in venereal complaints.

THE first Spaniards who settled there, would, probably, have fallen a sacrifice to this last disorder, without the assistance of this powerful remedy; they would, at least, not have recovered from those dangerous fevers they were generally subject to at St. Mattheo; whether in consequence of the food of the country, or the badness of the waters. But the savages taught them, that by drinking in a morning fasting, and at their meals, water in which Sassafras had been boiled, they might certainly depend upon a speedy recovery. The experiment, upon trial, proved successful. But still the village never emerged from the obscurity and distress which were, undoubtedly, the natural and insurmountable consequences that attended the conquerors of the new world.

ANOTHER establishment was formed upon the same coast, at fifteen leagues distance from St. Mattheo, known by the name of St. Augustine. The English attacked it in 1747, but were obliged to give up their attempts. Some Scotch Highlanders, who were desirous of covering the retreat of the assailants, were repulsed and slain. A serjeant, who fought among the Spaniards, was spared by the Indian savages, only that he might be reserved to undergo those torments which they inflict upon their prisoners. This man, it is said,

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on seeing the horrid tortures that awaited him, addressed the blood-thirsty multitude in the following manner: BOOK
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“HEROES and patriarchs of the western world,
“you were not the enemies I fought for; but you
“have at last been the conquerors. The chance of war
“has thrown me into your power. Make what use you
“please of the right of conquest. This is a right I do
“not call in question. But as it is customary in my
“country to offer a ransom for one’s life, listen to a
“proposal not unworthy your notice.

“KNOW then, valiant Americans, that in the country of which I am a native, there are some men who possess a superior knowledge of the secrets of nature. One of those sages connected to me by the ties of kindred, imparted to me when I became a soldier, a charm to make me invulnerable. You must have observed how I have escaped all your darts: without such a charm would it have been possible for me to have survived all the mortal blows you have aimed at me? For I appeal to your own valour, to testify that mine has sufficiently exerted itself, and has not avoided any danger. Life is not so much the object of my request, as the glory of having communicated to you a secret of so much consequence to your safety, and of rendering the most valiant nation upon the earth, invincible. Suffer me only to have one of my hands at liberty, in order to perform the ceremonies of enchantment, of which I will now make trial on myself before you.”

THE Indians listened with eagerness to this discourse, which was flattering both to their warlike character, and their turn for the marvellous. After a short consultation; they untied one of the prisoner’s arms. The highlander begged that they would put his broad sword into the

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the hands of the most expert and stoutest among them; and at the same time laying bare his neck, after having rubbed it, and muttering some words accompanied with magic signs, he cried aloud with a chearful countenance: "Observe now, O valiant Indians, an incon-
"testable proof of my honesty. Thou warrior who
"now holds my keen-cutting weapon, do thou now
"strike with all thy strength: far from being able to
"sever my head from my body, thou wilt not even
"wound the skin of my neck."

HE had scarcely spoke these words, when the Indian, aiming the most violent blow, struck off the head of the sergeant, at the distance of twenty feet. The savages astonished, stood motionless, viewing the bloody corpse of the stranger; and then turning their eyes upon one another, as if to reproach each other with their blind credulity. But admiring the artifice the prisoner had made use of to avoid the torture by hastening his death, they bestowed on his body the funeral honours of their country. If this tale, the date of which is too recent to add credit to a fiction, has not all the authenticity it should have, it will only be one falsehood more to be added to the accounts of travellers.

THE Spaniards, who in all their progress through America, were more employed in destroying the inhabitants, than in constructing of buildings, had formed only those two settlements we have taken notice of at the mouth of the channel of Bahama. At fourscore leagues distance from St. Augustine, upon the entrance of the gulph of Mexico, they had raised that of St. Mark, at the mouth of the river Apalache. But this situation, well adapted to maintain a communication between the two continents of the new world, had already lost all the little consequence it had at first obtained,

obtained, when the English settled at Carolina in 1704, and entirely destroyed it. BOOK
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AT the distance of thirty leagues further, was another colony, known by the name of St. Joseph, but of less consequence than that of St. Mark. Situated on a flat coast, and exposed to every wind, and on a barren soil and an uncultivated country; it was the last place where one might expect to meet with inhabitants. But avarice being frequently a dupe to ignorance, some Spaniards settled there.

THOSE Spaniards who had formed an establishment at the bay of Pensacola upon the borders of Louisiana, were at least happier in their choice of situation. The soil was susceptible of culture; and there was a road which had it been a little deeper at its entrance, might have been thought a good one, if the best ships that arrived there had not soon been worm-eaten.

THESE five colonies, scattered over a space sufficient to have formed a great kingdom, did not contain more than three thousand inhabitants surpassing each other in sloth and poverty. They were all supported by the produce of their cattle. The hides they sold at the Havannah, and the provisions with which they served their garrison, whose pay amounted to 750,000 livres, (32,822*l.* 10*s.*) enabled them to purchase cloths and whatever else their soil did not furnish them with. Notwithstanding the miserable state in which they had been left by the mother country, the greatest part of them chose to go to Cuba, when Florida was ceded to England by the treaty of 1763. This acquisition, therefore, was no more than a desert, yet still it was some advantage to have got rid of a number of lazy, indolent and disaffected inhabitants.

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GREAT BRITAIN was pleased with the prospect of peopling a vast province, whose limits have been extended even to the Mississippi, by the cession France has made of part of Louisiana. The better to fulfil her project she has divided it into two governments, under the names of East and West Florida.

THE English had long been desirous of establishing themselves in that part of the continent, in order to open a free communication with the wealthiest colonies of Spain. At first they had no other view but in the profits arising from a contraband trade. But an advantage so precarious and momentary, was not an object of sufficient importance, nor any way suitable to the ambition of a great power. Cultivation alone can render the conquests of an industrious people flourishing. Sensible of this the English give every encouragement to promote culture in the finest part of their dominions. In one year, 1769, the parliament voted no less than 205,875 livres (9,007*l.* 0*s.* 7*d.* halfp.) for the two Floridas. Here, at least, the parent for some time administers nourishment to her new-born children; whereas, in other nations, the government sucks and exhausts at the same time the milk of the mother country and the blood of the colonies.

By what means England may render Florida useful to her.

It is not easy to determine, to what degree of splendour this indulgence with time and good management may raise the Floridas. Appearances, however, are highly promising. The air is healthy, and the soil fit for every kind of grain. Their first trials of rice, cotton, and indigo, were attended with such success, that the number of colonists was greatly increased by it. They pour in from the neighbouring provinces, the mother country, and all the protestant dominions in Europe. How greatly might this population be increased, if the

sovereigns of North America would depart from the maxims they have uniformly pursued, and would condescend to intermarriages with Indian families ! And for what reason should this method of civilizing the savage tribes, which has been so successfully employed by the most enlightened politicians, be rejected by a free people, who from their principles must admit a greater equality than other nations ? Would they then be still reduced to the cruel alternative of seeing their crops burned, and their labourers massacred, or of persecuting without intermission, and exterminating without pity, those wandering bands of natives ? Surely a generous nation, which has made such great and such continued efforts to reign without a rival over this vast tract of the new world, should prefer to sanguinary and inglorious hostilities, a humane and infallible method of disarming the only enemy that remains to disturb her tranquillity !

THE English flatter themselves, that without the assistance of these alliances they shall soon be freed from the little interruption that remains. It is the fate of savage nations, say they, to waste away in proportion as the people of civilized states come to settle among them. Unable to submit to the labour of cultivation, and failing of their usual subsistence from the chase, they are reduced to the necessity of abandoning all those tracts of lands which industry and activity have undertaken to clear. This is actually the case with all the natives bordering on the European settlements. They keep daily retiring further into the woods ; they fall back upon the Assenipouals and Hudson's bay, where they must necessarily encroach upon each other, and in a short time must perish for want of subsistence.

BUT before this total destruction is brought about, events of a very serious nature may occur. We have

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not yet forgot the generous Pondiack. That formidable warrior had broke with the English in 1762. Major Roberts, who was employed to reconcile him, sent him a present of brandy. Some Iroquois, who were standing round their chief, shuddered at the sight of this liquor. Not doubting that it was poisoned, they insisted that he should not accept so suspicious a present. *How can it be,* said their leader, *that a man, who knows my esteem for him, and the signal services I have done him, should entertain a thought of taking away my life?* Saying this, he received and drank the brandy with a confidence equal to that of the most renowned hero of antiquity.

By many instances of magnanimity similar to this, the eyes of the savage nations had all been fixed upon Pondiack. His design was to unite them in a body for the defence of their lands and independence. Several unfortunate circumstances concurred to defeat this grand project; but it may be resumed, and it is not impossible, may succeed. Should this be the case, the English will be under a necessity of protecting their frontier against an enemy, that hath none of those expences to sustain or evils to dread, which war brings with it among civilized nations; and will find the advantages they have promised themselves from conquests made at the expence of so much treasure and so much blood, considerably retarded, at least, if not entirely cut off.

Extent of
the British
dominions
in North
America.

THE two Floridas, part of Louisiana, and all Canada obtained at the same æra, either by conquest or treaty, have rendered the English masters of all that space, which extends from the river St. Lawrence to the Mississippi; so that without reckoning Hudson's bay, Newfoundland, and the other islands of North-America, they are in possession of the most extensive empire that ever was formed upon the face of the globe. This vast territory

territory is divided from north to south by a chain of high mountains, which alternately receding from and approaching the coast, leave between them and the ocean a rich tract of land of a hundred and fifty, two hundred, and sometimes three hundred miles in breadth. Beyond these Apalachian mountains is an immense desert, into which some travellers have ventured as far as eight hundred leagues without finding an end to it. It is supposed that the rivers at the extremity of these uncultivated regions have a communication with the South-sea. If this conjecture, which is not destitute of probability, should be confirmed by experience, England would unite in her colonies all the branches of communication and commerce of the new world. By her territories extending from one American sea to the other, she may be said to join the four quarters of the world. From all her European ports, from all her African settlements, she freights and sends out ships to the new world. From her maritime settlements in the east she would have a direct channel to the West-Indies, by the Pacific ocean. She would discover those slips of land or branches of the sea, the isthmus or the streight, which lies between the northern extremities of Asia and America. By the vast extent of her colonies she would have in her own power all the avenues of trade, and would secure all the advantages of it by her numerous fleets. Perhaps, by having the empire of all the seas she might aspire to the supremacy of both worlds. But it is not in the destiny of any single nation to attain to such a pitch of greatness. Is then extent of dominion so flattering an object, when conquests are made only to be lost again? Let the Romans speak! Does it constitute power, to possess such a share of the globe, that some part shall always be enlightened by the rays of the sun, if while we reign in one world we are to lan-

guish in obscurity in the other? Let the Spaniards answer!

THE English will be happy, if they can preserve by the means of culture and navigation, an empire, which must ever be found too extensive, when it cannot be maintained without bloodshed. But as this is the price, which ambition must always pay for the success of its enterprizes, it is by commerce alone that conquests can become valuable to a maritime power. Never did war procure for any conqueror a territory more improveable by human industry than that of the northern continent of America. Although the land in general is so low near the sea, that in many parts it is scarcely distinguishable from the top of the main mast, even after bringing in fourteen fathom, yet the coast is very easy of access, because the depth diminishes insensibly as you advance. From this circumstance it is easy to determine exactly by the line the distance of the main land. Besides this the mariner has another sign, which is the appearance of trees, that, seeming to rise out of the sea, form an enchanting object to his view upon a shore, which presents roads and harbours without number for the reception and preservation of shipping.

THE productions of the earth arise in great abundance from a soil newly cleared; but in return they are a long time coming to maturity. Many plants are even so late in flower, that the winter prevents their ripening; while on our continent, both the fruit and the seed of them are gathered in a more northern latitude. What should be the cause of this phenomenon? Before the arrival of the Europeans the North Americans, living upon the produce of their hunting and fishery, left their lands totally uncultivated. The whole country was covered with woods and thickets. Under the shade of these forests
grew

grew a multitude of plants. The leaves, which fell every winter from the trees, formed a bed of three or four inches thick. Before the dumps had quite rotted this species of manure, the summer came on; and nature, left entirely to herself, continued heaping incessantly upon each other these effects of her fertility. The plants buried under wet leaves, through which they with difficulty made their way in a long course of time, became accustomed to a slow vegetation. The force of culture has not yet been able to subdue this habit fixed and confirmed by ages, nor have the dispositions of nature given way to the influence of art. But this climate so long unknown or neglected by mankind, presents them with advantages, which supply the defects and ill consequences of that omission.

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It produces almost all the trees that are natives of our climate. It has also others peculiar to itself; among these are the sugar maple, and the candleberry myrtle. The candleberry myrtle is a shrub which delights in a moist soil, and is, therefore, seldom found at any distance from the sea. Its seeds are covered with a white powder, which looks like flour. When they are gathered towards the end of autumn, and put into boiling water, there rises a viscous body, which swims at the top, and is skimmed off. As soon as this is come to a consistence, it is commonly of a dirty green colour. To purify it, it is boiled a second time, when it becomes transparent and of an agreeable green.

Trees peculiar to North America.

THIS substance, which in quality and consistence is a medium between tallow and wax, supplied the place of both to the first Europeans that landed in this country. The dearth of it has occasioned it to be less used, in proportion as the number of domestic animals hath increased. Nevertheless as it burns slower than tallow, is less subject to melt, and has not that disagreeable smell, it is still preferred, wherever it can be procured at a moderate

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derate price. The property of giving light is, of all its uses, the least valuable. It serves to make excellent soap and plaisters for wounds: it is even employed for the purpose of sealing letters. The sugar maple does not merit less attention than the candleberry myrtle, as may be conceived from its name.

THIS tree, whose nature it is to flourish by the side of streams, or in marshy places, grows to the height of an oak. In the month of March, an incision of the depth of three or four inches is made in the lower part of the trunk. A pipe is put into the orifice, through which the juice, that flows from it, is conveyed into a vessel placed to receive it. The young trees are so full of this liquor, that in half an hour they will fill a quart bottle. The old ones afford less, but of a much better quality. No more than one incision or two at most can be made without draining and weakening the tree. If three or four pipes are applied, it soon dies.

THE sap of this tree has naturally the flavour of honey. To reduce it to sugar, they evaporate it by fire, till it has acquired the consistence of a thick syrup. It is then poured into moulds of earthen ware or bark of the birch-tree. The syrup hardens as it cools, and becomes a red kind of sugar, almost transparent, and pleasant enough to the taste. To give it a whiteness, they sometimes mix up flour with it in the making; but this ingredient always changes the flavour of it. This kind of sugar is used for the same purposes, as that which is made from canes; but eighteen or twenty pounds of juice go to the making of one pound of sugar, so that it can be of no great use in trade.

Birds peculiar to North America.

AMIDST the multitude of birds which inhabit the forests of North America, there is one extremely singular in its kind; this is the humming bird, a species of which, on account of its smallness, is called by the French

Poiseau

Poisseau mouche, or the fly bird. Its beak is long and pointed like a needle; and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon its head it has a black tuft of incomparable beauty. Its breast is of a rose colour, and its belly white as milk. The back, wings and tail are grey, bordered with silver, and streaked with the brightest gold. The down, which covers all the plumage of this little bird, gives it so delicate a cast, that it resembles a velvet flower, whose beauty fades on the slightest touch.

THE spring is the only season for this charming bird. Its nest, perched on the middle of a bough, is covered on the outside with a grey and greenish moss, and on the inside lined with a very soft down gathered from yellow flowers. This nest is half an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter. There are never found more than two eggs in it about the size of the smallest peas. Many attempts have been made to rear the young ones; but they have never lived more than three weeks or a month at most.

THE humming bird lives entirely on the juice of flowers, fluttering from one to another, like the bees. Sometimes it buries itself in the calix of the largest flowers. Its flight produces a buzzing noise like that of a spinning-wheel. When it is tired, it lights upon the nearest tree or stake; rests a few minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Notwithstanding its weakness, it does not appear timid; but will suffer a man to approach within eight or ten feet of it.

WHO would imagine, that so diminutive an animal could be malicious, passionate, and quarrelsome? They are often seen fighting together with great fury and obstinacy. The strokes they give with their beak are so sudden and so quick, that they are not distinguishable by the eye. Their wings move with such agility, that they seem

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seem not to move at all. They are more heard than seen: and their noise resembles that of a sparrow.

THESE little birds are all impatience. When they come near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they tear all the leaves asunder. The precipitation, with which they peck it, betrays, as it is said, the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the summer, thousands of flowers may be seen stript of all their leaves by the fury of the fly birds. It may be doubted, however, whether this mark of resentment is not rather an effect of hunger than of an unnecessarily destructive instinct.

NORTH AMERICA formerly was devoured by insects. As the air was not yet purified, nor the ground cleared, nor the woods cut down, nor the waters drained off, these little animals destroyed without opposition all the productions of nature. None of them was useful to mankind. There is only one at present, which is the bee: but this is supposed to have been carried from the old to the new world. The savages call it, the English fly; and it is only found near the coasts. These circumstances announce it to be of foreign original. The bees fly in numerous swarms through the forests of the new world. They increase every day. Their honey is employed to several uses. Many persons make it their food. The wax becomes daily a more considerable branch of trade.

The English supply North America with domestic animals.

THE bee is not the only present which Europe has had in her power to make to America. She has enriched her also with a breed of domestic animals, for the savages had none. America had not yet associated beasts with men in the labours of cultivation, when the Europeans carried over thither in their ships several of our species of domestic animals. They have multiplied there prodigiously; but all of them, excepting the hog, whose whole merit

merit consists in fattening himself, have lost much of that strength and size which they enjoyed in those countries whence they were brought. The oxen, horses, and sheep have degenerated in the northern colonies of England, though the particular kinds of each had been chosen with great precaution.

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WITHOUT doubt, it is the climate; the nature of the air and the soil which has prevented the success of their transplantation. These animals, as well as the men, were at first attacked by epidemical disorders. If the contagion did not, as in the men, affect the principles of generation in them, several species of them at least were with much difficulty reproduced. Each generation fell short of the last; and as it happens to American plants in Europe, European cattle continually degenerated in America. Such is the law of climates, which wills every people, every animal and vegetable species to grow and flourish in its native soil. The love of their own country seems an ordinance of nature prescribed to all beings, like the desire of preserving their existence.

YET there are certain correspondencies of climate, which form exceptions to the general rule against transporting animals and plants. When the English first landed on the North American continent, the wandering inhabitants of those desolate regions had scarcely arrived at the cultivation of a small quantity of maize. This species of corn, unknown at that time in Europe, was the only one known in the new world. The culture of it was by no means difficult. The savages contented themselves with taking off the turf, making a few holes in the ground with a stick, and throwing into each of them a single grain, which produced two hundred and fifty or three hundred. The method of preparing it for food was not more complicated. They pounded it in a wooden

European
grain car-
ried into
North
America
by the
English.

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wooden or stone mortar, and made it into a paste, which they baked under embers. They often ate it boiled or toasted merely upon the coals.

THE maize has many advantages. Its leaves are useful in feeding cattle; a circumstance of great moment where there are very few meadows. A hungry, light, sandy soil agrees best with this plant. The seed may be frozen in the spring two or three times without impairing the harvest. In short it is of all plants the one that is least injured by the excess of drought or moisture.

THESE causes, which introduced the cultivation of it in that part of the world, induced the English to preserve and even promote it in their settlements. They sold it to Portugal, to South America, and the sugar islands, and had sufficient for their own use. They did not, however, neglect to enrich their plantations with European grains, all of which succeeded, though not so perfectly as in their native soil. With the superfluity of their harvests, the produce of their herds, and the clearing of the forests, the colonists formed a trade with all the wealthiest and most populous provinces of the new world.

THE mother country, finding that her northern colonies had supplanted her in her trade with South America, and fearing that they would soon become her rivals even in Europe at all the markets for salt and corn, endeavoured to divert their industry to objects that might be more useful to her. She wanted neither motives nor means to bring about this purpose, and had soon an opportunity to carry it into execution.

The English find the necessity of having their naval stores from America.

THE greatest part of the pitch and tar the English wanted for their fleet, used to be furnished by Sweden. In 1703, that state was so blind to its true interest, as to lay this important branch of commerce under the restrictions of an exclusive patent. The first effect of this

this monopoly was a sudden and unnatural increase of price. England taking advantage of this blunder of the Swedes, encouraged by considerable premiums the importation of all sorts of naval stores which North America could furnish.

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THESE rewards did not immediately produce the effect that was expected from them. A bloody war, raging in each of the four quarters of the world, prevented both the mother country and the colonies from giving to this infant revolution of commerce the attention which it merited. The northern nations, whose interests were united, taking this inaction, which was only occasioned by the hurry of a war, for an absolute proof of inability, thought they might without danger lay every restrictive clause upon the exportation of marine stores, that could contribute to enhance the price of them. For this end they entered into mutual engagements, which were made public in 1718, a time, when all the maritime powers still felt the effects of a war, that had continued fourteen years.

ENGLAND was alarmed by so odious a convention. She dispatched to America men of sufficient ability to convince the inhabitants how necessary it was for them to assist the views of the mother country; and of sufficient experience to direct their first attempts towards great objects, without making them pass through those minute details, which quickly extinguish an ardour excited with difficulty. In a very short time such quantities of pitch, tar, turpentine, yards and masts were brought into the harbours of Great Britain, that she was enabled to supply the nations around her.

THIS sudden success blinded the British government. The cheapness of the commodities furnished by the colonies, in comparison of those which were brought from the Baltic, gave them an advantage, which seemed to insure

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insure a constant preference. Upon this the ministry concluded that the bounties might be withdrawn. But they had not taken into their calculation the difference of freight, which was entirely in favour of their rivals. A total stop ensued in this branch of trade, and made them sensible of their error. In 1729, they revived the bounties; which though they were not laid so high as formerly, were sufficient to give to the vent of American stores the greatest superiority, at least in England, over those of the northern nations.

THE woods, though they constituted the principal riches of the colonies, had hitherto been overlooked by the governors of the mother country. The produce of them had long been exported by the English to Spain, Portugal, and the different markets in the Mediterranean, where it was bought up for building and other uses. As these traders did not take in return merchandise sufficient to complete their cargoes, it had been a practice with the Hamburgers, and even the Dutch to import on their bottoms the produce of the most fertile climates of Europe. This double trade of export and carrying had considerably augmented the British navy. The parliament, being informed of this advantage, in the year 1722, immediately exempted the timber of the colonies from all those duties of importation, which Russian, Swedish and Danish timber are subject to. This first favour was followed by a bounty, which, at the same time that it comprehended every species of wood in general, was principally calculated for those, which are employed in ship-building. An advantage, so considerable in itself, as this was, would have been greatly improved; if the colonies had built among themselves vessels proper for transporting cargoes of such weight; if they had made wood yards, from which they might have furnished complete freights; and

and finally, if they had abolished the custom of burning in the spring the leaves which had fallen in the preceding autumn. This foolish practice destroys all the young trees, that are beginning in that season to shoot out; and leaves only the old ones, which are too rotten for use. It is notorious, that vessels constructed in America, or with American materials, last but a very short time. This inconvenience may arise from several causes; but that, which has just been mentioned, merits the greater attention, as it may be easily remedied. Besides timber and masts for ships, America is capable of furnishing likewise sails and rigging, by the cultivation of hemp and flax.

THE French protestants, who, when driven from their country by a victorious prince fallen into a state of bigotry, carried their national industry every where into the countries of his enemies, taught England the value of two commodities of the utmost importance to a maritime power. Both flax and hemp were cultivated with some success in Scotland and Ireland. Yet the manufactures of the nation were chiefly supplied with both from Russia. To put a stop to this foreign importation, it was proposed to grant a bounty to North-America of 135 livres, (6*l*.) for every ton of these articles. But habit, which is an enemy to all novelties, however useful, prevented the colonists at first from being allured by this bait. They are since reconciled to it; and the produce of their flax and hemp serves to keep at home a considerable part of 45,000,000, (1,968,750*l*.) which went annually out of Great-Britain for the purchase of foreign linens. It may, perhaps, in time be improved so far as to be equal to the whole demand of the kingdom, and even to supplant other nations in all the markets. A soil entirely fresh, which costs nothing, does not stand in need of manure,

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is intersected by navigable rivers, and may be cultivated by slaves, affords ground for immense expectations. To the timber and canvas requisite for shipping we have yet to add iron. The northern parts of America furnish this commodity to assist in acquiring the gold and silver which so abundantly flow in the southern.

England
begins to
get iron
from North
America.

THIS most useful of metals, so necessary to mankind, was unknown to the Americans, till the Europeans taught them the most fatal uses of it, that of making weapons. The English themselves long neglected the iron mines, which nature had lavished on the continent, where they were settled. That channel of wealth had been diverted from the mother country by being clogged with enormous duties. The proprietors of the national mines, aided by those of the coppice woods, which are used in the working of them, had procured imposts to be laid on them that amounted to a prohibition. By corruption, intrigue, and sophistry, these enemies to the public good had stifled a competition, which would have been fatal to their interests. At length the government took the first step towards a right conduct. The importation of American iron into the port of London was granted, duty-free; but at the same time it was forbid to be carried to any other ports, or even more than ten miles inland. This whimsical restriction continued till 1757. At that time the general voice of the people called upon the parliament to repeal an ordinance so manifestly contrary to every principle of public utility, and to extend to the whole kingdom a privilege which had been granted exclusively to the capital.

THOUGH nothing could be more reasonable than this demand, it met with the strongest opposition. Combinations of interested individuals were formed to represent, that the hundred and nine forges wrought in England,

land, not reckoning those of Scotland, produced annually eighteen thousand tons of iron, and employed a great number of able workmen; that the mines, which were inexhaustible, would have supplied a much greater quantity, had not a perpetual apprehension prevailed that the duties on American iron would be taken off; that the iron works carried on in England consumed annually one hundred and ninety-eight thousand cords of underwood, and that those woods furnished moreover bark for the tanneries and materials for ship-building; and that the American iron, not being proper for steel, for making sharp instruments, or many of the utensils of navigation, would contribute very little to lessen the importation from abroad, and would have no other effect than that of putting a stop to the forges of Great Britain.

THESE groundless representations had no weight with the parliament, who saw clearly that unless the price of the original materials could be lessened, the nation would soon lose the numberless manufactures of iron and steel, by which it had so long been enriched; and that there was no time to be lost in putting a stop to the progress other nations by their industry had made in it. It was therefore resolved that the free importation of iron from America should be permitted in all the ports of England. This wise resolution was accompanied with an act of justice. The proprietors of coppices were by a statute of Henry the eighth forbidden to clear their lands: the parliament took off this prohibition, and left them at liberty to make such use of their estates as they should think proper.

PREVIOUS to these regulations, Great Britain used to pay annually to Spain, Norway, Sweden and Russia ten millions of livres (437,500*l.*) for the iron she purchased of them. This tribute is greatly lessened, and

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will lessen still more. The ore is found in such quantities in America, and is so easily separated from the ground, that the English do not despair of having it in their power to furnish Portugal, Turkey, Africa, the East Indies, and every country in the world with which they have any commercial connections.

PERHAPS, the English may be too sanguine in their representations of the advantages they expect from so many articles of importance to their navy. But it is sufficient for them, if by the assistance of their colonies they can free themselves from that dependence in which the northern powers of Europe have hitherto kept them, with regard to the equipment of their fleets. Formerly their operations might have been prevented or at least interrupted by a refusal of the necessary materials. From this time nothing will be able to check their natural ardour for the empire of the sea, which alone can insure to them the empire of the new world.

England
endeavours
to procure
wine and
silk from
North
America.

AFTER having paved the way to that grand object, by forming a free, independent navy, superior to that of every other nation; England has adopted every measure, that can contribute to her enjoyment of this species of conquest she has made in America, less by the force of her arms than of her industry. By bounties judiciously bestowed, she has succeeded so far as to draw annually from that country twenty million weight of pot-ashes. The greatest progress has been made in the cultivation of rice, indigo and tobacco. In proportion as the settlements, from their natural tendency, stretched further towards the south, fresh projects and enterprizes suitable to the nature of the soil suggested themselves. In the temperate and in the hot climates, the several productions were expected which necessarily reward the labours of the cultivator. Wine was the only

only article that seemed to be wanting to the new hemisphere; and the English, who have none in Europe, were eager to produce some in America. BOOK
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UPON that immense continent the English are in possession of, are found prodigious quantities of wild vines, which bear grapes, differing in colour, size and quantity, but all of a sour and disagreeable flavour. It was supposed that good management would give these plants that perfection, which unassisted nature had denied them; and French vine-dressers were invited into a country, where neither public nor private impositions took away their inclination to labour by depriving them of the fruits of their industry. The repeated experiments they made both with American and European plants, were all equally unsuccessful. The juice of the grape was too watery, too weak, and almost impossible to be preserved in a hot climate. The country was too full of woods, which attract and confine the moist and hot vapours; the seasons were too unsettled, and the insects too numerous near the forests to suffer a production to expand and prosper, of which the English and all other nations who have it not, are so ambitious. The time will come, perhaps, though it will be long first, when their colonies will furnish them with a beverage, which they envy and purchase from France, repining inwardly that they are obliged to contribute towards enriching a rival, whom they are anxious to ruin. This disposition is cruel. England has other more gentle and more honourable means of attaining that prosperity she is ambitious of. Her emulation may be better and more usefully exerted on an article now cultivated in each of the four quarters of the globe; this is silk! the work of that little worm which clothes mankind with the leaves of trees digested in its entrails: silk! that double prodigy of nature and of art.

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A VERY considerable sum of money is annually exported from Great Britain for the purpose of this rich production; which gave rise about thirty years ago to a plan for obtaining silk from Carolina; the mildness of the climate, and the great abundance of mulberry-trees seemed favourable to the project. Some attempts made by the government to attract some Switzers into the colony, were more successful than could have been expected. Yet the progress of this branch of trade has not been answerable to so promising a beginning. The blame has been laid on the inhabitants of the colony, who buying only negro men, from whom they received an immediate and certain profit, neglected to have women, who with their children might have been employed in bringing up silk-worms, an occupation suitable to the weakness of that sex, and to the tenderest age. But it ought to have been considered, that men coming from another hemisphere into a rude uncultivated country, would apply their first care to the cultivation of esculent plants, breeding cattle, and the toils of immediate necessity. This is the natural and constant proceeding of well-governed states. From agriculture, which is the source of population, they rise to the arts of luxury; and the arts of luxury nourish commerce, which is the child of industry and parent of wealth. The time is, perhaps, come, when the English may employ whole colonies in the cultivation of silk. This is, at least, the national opinion. On the 18th of April 1769, the parliament granted a bounty of 25 per cent. for seven years on all raw silks imported from the colonies; a bounty of 20 per cent. for seven years following, and for seven years after that a bounty of 15 per cent. If this encouragement produces such improvements as may reasonably be expected from it, the next step undoubtedly will be the cultivation of cotton and olive trees, which seem particularly

particularly adapted to the climate and soil of the English colonies. There are not, perhaps, any rich productions either in Europe or Asia, but what may be transplanted and cultivated with success on the vast continent of North America, as soon as population shall have provided hands in proportion to the extent and fertility of so rich a territory. The great object of the mother country at present is the peopling of her colonies.

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THE first persons, who landed in this desert and savage region were Englishmen, who had been persecuted at home for their civil and religious opinions.

What kind
of men
England
peoples her
North
American
colonies
with.

It was not to be expected that this first emigration would be attended with important consequences. The inhabitants of Great Britain are so strongly attached to their native soil, that nothing less than civil wars or revolutions can induce those among them, who have any property, character, or industry, to a change of climate and country: for which reason, the re-establishment of public tranquillity in Europe was likely to put an insurmountable bar to the progress of American cultivation.

ADD to this, that the English, though naturally active, ambitious and enterprising, were ill-adapted to the business of clearing the grounds. Accustomed to a quiet life, ease and many conveniencies, nothing but the enthusiasm of religion or politics could support them under the labours, miseries, wants and calamities inseparable from new plantations.

It is further to be observed, that, though England might have been able to overcome these difficulties, it was not a desirable object for her. Without doubt, the founding of colonies, rendering them flourishing and enriching herself with their productions, was an advantageous prospect to her; but those advantages would be dearly purchased at the expence of her own population.

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HAPPILY for her, the intolerant and despotic spirit, that swayed most countries of Europe, forced numberless victims to take refuge in an uncultivated tract, which, in its state of desolation, seemed to implore that assistance for itself which it offered to the unfortunate. These men, who had escaped from the rod of tyranny, in crossing the seas, abandoned all hopes of return, and attached themselves for ever to a country, which at the same time afforded them an asylum and an easy quiet subsistence. Their good fortune could not remain for ever unknown. Multitudes flocked from different parts to partake of it. Nor has this eagerness abated, particularly in Germany, where nature produces men for the purposes either of conquering or cultivating the earth. It will even increase. The advantage granted to emigrants, throughout the British dominions, of being naturalized by a residence of seven years in the colonies, sufficiently warrants this prediction.

WHILE tyranny and persecution were destroying population in Europe, English America was beginning to be peopled with three sorts of inhabitants. The first class consists of freemen. It is the most numerous; but hitherto it has visibly degenerated. The Creoles in general, though habituated to the climate from their cradle, are not so robust and fit for labour, nor so powerful in war as the Europeans; whether it be that they have not the improvements of education, or that they are softened by nature. In that foreign clime the mind is enervated as well as the body: endued with a quickness and early penetration, it easily apprehends, but wants steadiness, and is not used to continued thought. It must be a matter of astonishment to find that America has not yet produced a good poet, an able mathematician, or a man of genius in any single art or science. They possess in general a readiness for acquiring the

the knowledge of every art or science, but not one of them shews any decisive talent for one in particular. More early advanced at first, and arriving at a state of maturity sooner than we do, they are much behind us in the latter part of life.

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PERHAPS, it will be said, that their population is not very numerous, in comparison with that of all Europe together; that they want aids, masters, models, instruments, emulation in the arts and sciences; that education with them is too much neglected, or too little improved. But we may observe, that in proportion, we see more persons in America of good birth, of an easy, competent fortune, with a greater share of leisure and of other means of improving their natural abilities, than are found in Europe, where even the very method of training up youth is often repugnant to the progress and unfolding of reason and genius. Is it possible that although the Creoles educated with us have every one of them good sense, or, at least, the most part of them, yet not one should have arisen to any great degree of perfection in the slightest pursuit; and that among such as have staid in their own country no one has distinguished himself by a confirmed superiority in those talents which lead to fame? Has nature then punished them for having crossed the ocean? Are they a race of people degenerated by transplanting, by growth and by mixture? Will not time be able to reduce them to the nature of their climate? Let us beware of pronouncing on futurity, before we have the experience of several centuries. Let us wait till a more ample burst of light has shone over the new hemisphere. Let us wait till education may have corrected the insurmountable tendency of the climate towards the enervating pleasures of luxury and sensuality. Perhaps, we shall then see that America is propitious to genius, and the arts

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that give birth to peace and society. A new Olympus, an Arcadia, an Athens, a new Greece will produce, perhaps, on the continent, or in the Archipelago that surrounds it, another Homer, a Theocritus, and especially an Anacreon. Perhaps, another Newton is to arise in New Britain. From English America without doubt will proceed the first rays of the sciences if they are at length to break through a sky so long time clouded. By a singular contrast with the old world, in which the arts have travelled from the south towards the north, in the new one, the north will be found to enlighten the southern parts. Let the English clear the ground, purify the air, alter the climate, improve nature, and a new universe will arise out of their hands for the glory and happiness of humanity. But it is necessary that they should take steps conformable to this noble design, and aim by just and laudable means to form a population fit for the creation of a new world. This is what they have not yet done.

THE second class of their colonists was formerly composed of malefactors which the mother country transported after condemnation to America, and who were bound to a servitude of seven or fourteen years to the planters who had purchased them out of the hands of justice, The disgust is grown universal against these corrupt men, always disposed to commit fresh crimes.

THESE have been replaced by indigent persons, whom the impossibility of subsisting in Europe has driven into the new world. Having embarked without being capable of paying for their passage, these wretches are at the disposal of their captain, who sells them to whom he pleases.

THIS sort of slavery is for a longer or shorter time; but it can never exceed eight years. If among these emigrants

emigrants there are any who are not of age, their servitude lasts till they arrive at that period, which is fixed at twenty-one for the boys, and eighteen for the girls.

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NONE of those who are contracted for have a right to marry without the approbation of their master, who sets what price he chooses on his consent. If any one of them runs away, and he is retaken, he is to serve a week for each day's absence, a month for every week, and six months for one. The proprietor who does not think proper to receive again one who has deserted from his service, may sell him to whom he pleases, but that is only for the term of his first contract. Besides neither the service, nor the sale carry any ignominy with it. At the end of his servitude, the contracted person enjoys all the rights of a free denizen. With his freedom, he receives from the master whom he has served, either implements for husbandry, or utensils proper for his work.

BUT with whatever appearance of justice this species of traffic may be coloured, the greatest part of the strangers who go over to America under these conditions, would never set their foot on board a ship, if they were not inveigled away. Some artful kidnappers from the fens of Holland spread themselves over the Palatinate, Suabia, and the cantons of Germany, which are the best peopled or least happy. There they set forth with raptures the delights of the new world, and the fortunes easily acquired in that country. The simple men, seduced by these magnificent promises, blindly follow these infamous brokers engaged in this scandalous commerce, who deliver them over to factors at Amsterdam or Rotterdam. These, either in pay with the British government, or with companies who have undertaken to stock the colonies with people, give a gratuity to the men employed in this service. Whole families are sold without their knowledge

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knowledge to masters at a distance, who impose the harder conditions upon them, as hunger and necessity do not permit the sufferers to give a refusal. The English form their supplies of men for husbandry, as princes do for war; for a purpose more useful and more humane, but by the same artifices. The deception is perpetually carried on in Europe, by the attention paid to the suppressing of all correspondence with America, which might unveil a mystery of imposture and iniquity, too well disguised by the interested principles which gave rise to it.

BUT in short there would not be so many dupes, if there were fewer victims. It is the oppression of government which makes these chimerical ideas of fortune be adopted by the credulity of the people. Men, unfortunate in their private affairs, vagabonds or contemptible at home, having nothing worse to fear in a foreign climate, easily give themselves up to the hope of a better lot. The means used to retain them in a country where chance has given them birth, are fit only to excite in them a desire to quit it. It is imagined that they are to be under the constant restraint of prohibitions, menaces, and punishments: these do but exasperate them, and drive them to desertion by the very forbiddance of it. They should be attached by soothing means; by fair expectations; whereas they are imprisoned, and bound: man, born free, is restrained from attempting to exist in regions, where heaven and earth offer him an asylum. It has been thought better to stifle him in his cradle than to let him seek for his living in some climate that is ready to give him succour. It is not judged proper even to leave him the choice of his burial-place.—Tyrants in policy! these are the effects of your laws! People, where then are your rights?

Is it then become necessary to lay open to the nations the schemes that are formed against their liberty? Must they be told, that by a conspiracy of the most odious nature, certain powers have lately entered into an agreement, which must deprive even despair itself of every resource? For these two centuries past, all the princes of Europe have been fabricating among them in the secret recesses of the cabinet that long and heavy chain with which the people are encompassed on every side. At every negotiation fresh links were added to the chain so artificially contrived. Wars tended not to make states more extensive, but subjects more submissive, by gradually substituting military government in lieu of the mild and gentle influence of laws and morality. The several potentates have all equally strengthened themselves in their tyranny by their conquests, or by their losses. When they were victorious, they reigned by their armies; when humbled by defeat, they held the command by the misery of their pusillanimous subjects; whether ambition made them competitors or adversaries, they entered into league or alliance, only to aggravate the servitude of the people. If they chose to kindle war, or maintain peace, they were sure to turn to the advantage of their authority, either the raising or debasing of their people. If they ceded a province, they exhausted every other to recover it, in order to make amends for their loss. If they acquired a new one, the haughtiness they affected out of it, was the occasion of cruelty and extortion within. They borrowed one of another by turns every art and invention, whether of peace or of war, that might concur sometimes to foment natural antipathy and rivalry, sometimes to obliterate the character of the nations; as if there had been a tacit agreement among the rulers to subject the nations one by means of another to the despotism

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potism they had constantly been preparing for them. Ye people who all groan more or less secretly, doubt not of your condition ; those who never entertained any affection for you, are come now not to have any fear of you. In the extremity of wretchedness one single resource remained for you ; that of escape and emigration.—Even that has been shut against you.

PRINCES have agreed among themselves to restore to one another not only deserters, who for the most part inflisted by compulsion or by fraud, have a good right to escape ; not only rogues who in reality ought not to find a refuge any where ; but indifferently all their subjects whatever may be the motive that obliged them to quit their country.

THUS all you unhappy labourers, who find neither subsistence nor work in your own countries, after they have been ravaged and rendered barren by the exactions of finance ; thus ye die where ye had the misfortune to be born, ye have no refuge but under ground. All ye artists and workmen of every species harassed by monopolists, who are refused the right of working at your own free disposal, without having purchased the privileges of your calling : ye who are kept for your whole life in the work-shop, for the purpose of enriching a privileged factor : ye whom a court-mourning leaves for months together without bread or wages ; never expect to live out of a country where soldiers and guards keep you imprisoned ; go wander in despair, and die of regret. If ye venture to groan ; your cries will be re-echoed and left in the depth of a dungeon ; if ye make your escape, ye will be pursued even beyond mountains and rivers : ye will be sent back, or given up, bound hand and foot, to torture ; and to that eternal restraint to which you have been condemned from your birth.

birth. Do you likewise, whom nature has endowed with a free spirit, independent of prejudice and error, who dare to think and talk like men, do you erase from your minds every idea of truth, nature, and humanity. Applaud every attack made on your country and your fellow-citizens, or else maintain a profound silence in the recesses of obscurity and concealment. All ye who were born in those barbarous states, where the condition for the mutual restoration of deserters has been entered into by the several princes, and sealed by a treaty; recollect the inscription Dante has engraved on the gate of his infernal region: *Voi ch' entrate, lasciate omai ogni speranza: You who enter here, may leave behind you every hope.*

WHAT is there then no asylum remaining beyond the seas? Will not England open her colonies to those wretches, who voluntarily prefer her dominion to the insupportable yoke of their own country? What need has she of that infamous band of contracted slaves, kidnapped and debauched by the shameful means employed by every state to increase their armies? What need has she of those beings still more miserable, of whom she composes the third class of her American population? Yes, by an iniquity the more shocking as it is apparently the less necessary; her northern colonies have had recourse to the traffic, and slavery of the negroes. It will not be disowned, that they may be better fed, better clothed, less ill treated, and less overburthened with toil than in the Islands. The laws protect them more effectually, and they seldom become the victims of the barbarity or caprice of an odious tyrant. But still what must be the burthen of a man's life who is condemned to languish in eternal slavery? Some humane sectaries: christians who look for virtues in the gospel, more than for opinions, have often been desirous of restoring to their slaves that liberty

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liberty for which they cannot receive any adequate compensation ; but they have been a long time withheld by a law of the state, which directed that an assignment of a sufficiency for subsistence should be made to those who were set at liberty.

LET us rather say, the convenient custom of being waited on by slaves ; the fondness we have for power, which we attempt to justify by pretending to alleviate their servitude ; the opinion so readily entertained that they do not complain of a state, which is by time changed into nature : these are the sophisms of self-love, calculated to appease the clamours of conscience. The generality of mankind are not born with evil dispositions, or prone to do ill by choice ; but even among those whom nature seems to have formed just and good, there are but few who possess a soul sufficiently disinterested, courageous and great, to do any good action, if they must sacrifice some advantage for it.

BUT still the Quakers have just set an example which ought to make an epocha in the history of religion and humanity. In one of these assemblies, where every one of the faithful, who conceives himself moved by the impulse of the holy spirit, has a right of speaking ; one of the brethren, who was himself undoubtedly inspired on this occasion, arose and said : “ How long then shall we
“ have two consciences, two measures, two scales ; one
“ in our own favour, one for the ruin of our neighbour,
“ both equally false ? Is it for us, brethren, to complain
“ at this moment, that the parliament of England wishes
“ to enslave us, and to impose upon us the yoke of sub-
“ jection, without leaving us the rights of citizens ; while
“ for this century past, we have been calmly acting the
“ the part of tyrants, by keeping in bonds of the hardest
“ slavery men who are our equals and our brethren ?
“ What

" What have those unhappy creatures done to us, whom
 " nature had separated from us by barriers so formid-
 " able, whom our avarice has sought after through
 " storms and wrecks, and brought away from the midst
 " of their burning sands, or from their dark forests in-
 " habited by tygers? What crime have they been guilt
 " ty of, that they should be torn from a country which
 " fed them without toil, and that they should be trans-
 " planted by us to a land where they perish under the
 " labours of servitude? Father of Heaven, what family
 " hast Thou then created, in which the elder born, af-
 " ter having seized on the property of their brethren,
 " are still resolved to compel them, with stripes, to ma-
 " nure with the blood of their veins and the sweat of
 " their brow that very inheritance of which they have
 " been robbed? Deplorable race, whom we render
 " brutes to tyrannize over them: in whom we extin-
 " guish every power of the soul, to load their limbs and
 " their bodies with burdens; in whom we efface the
 " image of God, and the stamp of manhood. A race
 " mutilated and dishonoured as to the faculties of mind
 " and body, throughout its existence, by us who are
 " christians and Englishmen! Englishmen, ye people
 " favoured by Heaven, and respected on the seas, would
 " ye be free and tyrants at the same instant? No. Bre-
 " thren: it is time we should be consistent with ourselves.
 " Let us set free those miserable victims of our pride:
 " let us restore the negroes to liberty, which man should
 " never take from man. May all christian societies be
 " induced by our example to repair an injustice autho-
 " rized by the crimes and plunders of two centuries!
 " May men too long degraded, at length raise to Hea-
 " ven their arms freed from chains, and their eyes bath-
 " ed in tears of gratitude! Alas! the unhappy mortals
 " have hitherto shed no tears but those of despair!"

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THIS discourse awakened remorse, and the slaves in Pennsylvania were set at liberty. A revolution so amazing must necessarily have been the work of a people inclined to toleration. But let us not expect similar instances of heroism in those countries which are as deep sunk in barbarism by the vices attendant on luxury, as they have formerly been from ignorance. When a government, at once both priestly and military, has brought every thing, even the opinions of men, under its yoke; when man, become an impostor, has persuaded the armed multitude that he holds from Heaven the right of oppressing the earth; there is no shadow of liberty left for civilized nations. Why should they not take their revenge on the savage people of the torrid zone?

Present
state of
population
in the
English
provinces
of North
America.

NOT to mention the population of the negroes, which may amount to 300,000 slaves, in 1750 a million of inhabitants were reckoned in the British provinces of North America. There must be now upwards of two millions; as it is proved by undeniable calculations that the number of people doubles every 15 or 16 years in some of those provinces, and every 18 or 20 in others. So rapid an increase must have two sources, the first is that number of Irishmen, Jews, Frenchmen, Switzers, Palatines, Moravians, and Saltzburghers, who after having been worn out with the political and religious troubles they had experienced in Europe, have gone in search of peace and quietness in distant climates. The second source of that amazing increase is from the climate itself of the colonies, where experience has shewn that the people naturally doubled their numbers every five and twenty years. Mr. Franklin's remarks will make these truths evident.

THE numbers of the people, says that philosopher, increase every where in proportion to the number of marriages; and that number increases as the means of subsisting

tisting a family are rendered more easy. In a country where the means of subsistence abound, more people marry early. In a society, whose prosperity is a mark of its antiquity, the rich alarmed at the expences which female luxury brings along with it, are as late as possible in forming an establishment, which it is difficult to fix, and whose maintenance is costly; and the persons, who have no fortunes, pass their days in a celibacy which disturbs the married state. The masters have but few children, the servants have none at all; and the artificers are afraid of having any. This irregularity is so perceptible, especially in great towns, that families are not kept up sufficiently to maintain population in an even state, and that we constantly find there more deaths than births. Happily for us that decay has not yet penetrated into the country, where the constant practice of making up the deficiency of the towns gives a little more scope for population. But the lands being every where occupied, and let at the highest rate, those who cannot arrive at property of their own, are hired by those who have property. Rivalship, owing to the multitude of workmen, lowers the price of labour, and the smallness of their profits takes away the desire and the hope, as well as the abilities requisite for increase by marriage. Such is the present state of Europe.

THAT of America presents an appearance of a quite contrary nature. Tracts of land, waste and uncultivated, are to be had either for nothing, or so cheap, that a man of the least turn for labour, is furnished in a short time with an extent, which while it is sufficient to rear a numerous family, will maintain his posterity for a considerable time. The inhabitants, therefore, of the new world, induced likewise by the climate, marry in greater numbers, and at an earlier time of life,

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than

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than the inhabitants of Europe. Where one hundred enter into the married state in Europe, there are two hundred in America, and if we reckon four children to each marriage in our climates, we should allow, at least, eight in the new hemisphere. If we multiply these families by their produce, it will appear that in less than two centuries the British northern colonies will arrive at an immense degree of population, unless the mother country contrive some obstacles to impede its natural progress.

Happiness
of the in-
habitants
in the Bri-
tish colo-
nies of
North
America.

THEY are now peopled with healthy and robust men, of a stature above the common size. These Creoles are more quick and come to their full growth sooner than the Europeans: but they are not so long-lived. The low price of meat, fish, grain, game, fruits, cyder, vegetables, keeps the inhabitants in a great plenty of things merely for nourishment. It is necessary to be more careful with respect to clothing, which is still very dear, whether brought from Europe, or made in the country. Manners are in the state they should be among young colonies, and people given to cultivation, not yet polished nor corrupted by the resort of great cities. Throughout the families in general, there reigns œconomy, neatness, and regularity. Gallantry and gaming, the passions of easy wealth, seldom break in upon that happy tranquillity. The sex are still what they should be, gentle, modest, compassionate, and useful; they are in possession of those virtues which continue the empire of their charms. The men are employed in their original duties, the care and improvement of their plantations, which will be the support of their posterity. One general sentiment of benevolence unites every family. Nothing contributes to this union so much as a certain equality of station, a security that arises from property, a general hope which every man has

has of increasing it, and the facility of succeeding in this expectation ; in a word, nothing contributes to it so much as the reciprocal independence in which all men live, with respect to their wants, joined to the necessity of social connections for the purposes of their pleasures. Instead of luxury, which brings misery in its train, instead of that afflicting and shocking contrast, an universal welfare wisely dealt out in the original distribution of the lands, has by the influence of industry given rise in every breast to the desire of pleasing one another ; a desire, without doubt, more satisfactory than the secret disposition to injure our brethren, which is inseparable from an extreme inequality of fortune and condition. Men never meet without satisfaction when they are neither in that state of mutual distance which leads to indifference, nor in that way of rivalry which borders on hatred. They come nearer together and collect in societies ; in short it is in the colonies that men lead such a country life as was the original destination of mankind, best suited to the health and increase of the species : probably, they enjoy all the happiness consistent with the frailty of human nature. We do not, indeed, find there those graces, those talents, those refined enjoyments, the means and expence of which wear out and fatigue the springs of the soul, and bring on the vapours of melancholy which so naturally follow an indulgence in ardent pleasure : but there are the pleasures of domestic life, the mutual attachments of parent and children, and conjugal love, that passion so pure and so delicious to the soul that can taste it, and despise all other gratifications. This is the enchanting prospect exhibited throughout North America. It is in the wilds of Florida and Virginia, even in the forests of Canada, that men are enabled to continue to love their whole life long ; what was the object

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of their first affection, innocence and virtue, which never entirely lose their beauty.

If any thing be wanting in British America, it is its not forming precisely one people. Families are there found sometimes re-united, sometimes dispersed, originating from all the different countries of Europe. These colonists, in whatever spot chance or discernment may have placed them, all preserve with a prejudice not to be worn out, their mother tongue, the partialities and the customs of their own country. Separate schools and churches hinder them from mixing with the hospitable people, who hold out to them a place of refuge. Still estranged from this people by worship, by manners, and probably by their feelings, they harbour seeds of dissention that may one day prove the ruin and total overthrow of the colonies. The only preservative against this disaster depends entirely on the management of the ruling powers.

What kind
of govern-
ment is
established
in the Bri-
tish colo-
nies of
North
America.

By ruling powers must not be understood those strange constitutions of Europe, which are a rude mixture of sacred and profane laws. English America was wise or happy enough not to admit any ecclesiastical power: being from the beginning inhabited by presbyterians, she rejected with horror every thing that might revive the idea of it. All affairs that in the other parts of the globe depend on the tribunal of priests, are here brought before the civil magistrate, or the national assemblies. The attempts made by those of the English church to establish their hierarchy in that country, have ever been abortive, notwithstanding the support given by the mother country: but still they have their share in the administration of business as well as those of other sects. None but catholics have been excluded, on account of their refusing those oaths which the public tranquillity seemed to require.

In

In this view American government has deserved great commendation ; but in other respects, it is not so well combined.

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POLICY, in its aim and principal object resembles the education of children. They both tend to form men, and should be similar to each other in many respects. Savage people, first united in society, require as much as children to be sometimes led on by gentle means, and sometimes restrained by compulsion. For want of experience, which alone forms our reason, as they are incapable of governing themselves throughout the changes of things and the various concerns that belong to a rising society, government should be enlightened with regard to them, and guide them by authority to years of maturity. Just so barbarous nations are under the rod, and as it were in the leading-strings of despotism, till in the advance of society, their interests teach them to conduct themselves.

CIVILIZED nations, like young men, more or less advanced not in proportion to their abilities, but from the conduct of their early education, as soon as they come to their own strength, and their own pretensions, require being managed and even respected by their governors. A son well educated should engage in no undertaking without consulting his father : a prince on the contrary should make no regulations without consulting his people : further, the son, in resolutions where he follows the advice of his father, frequently hazards nothing but his own happiness ; in all that a prince ordains, the happiness of his people is concerned. The opinion of the public, in a nation that thinks and speaks, is the rule of the government : and the prince should never shock that opinion without public reasons, nor strive against it without conviction. Government is to model all its forms according to that opinion : opi-

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nion, it is well known, varies with manners, habits, and information. So that one prince may without finding the least resistance do an act of authority not to be revived by his successor, without exciting the public indignation. Whence does this difference arise? The predecessor cannot have shocked an opinion that was not sprung up in his time, while a succeeding prince may have openly counteracted it a century later. The first, if I may be allowed the expression, without the knowledge of the public, may have taken a step whose violence he may have softened or made amends for by the happy success of his government; the other, shall, perhaps, have increased the public calamities by such unjust acts of wilful authority, as may perpetuate its first abuses. Public remonstrance is generally the cry of opinion; and the general opinion is the rule of government: and because public opinion governs mankind, kings for this reason become rulers of men. Governments then as well as opinion ought to improve and advance to perfection. But what is the rule for opinions among an enlightened people? It is the permanent interest of society, the safety and advantage of the nation. This interest is modified by the turn of events and situations; public opinion and the form of the government follow these several modifications. This is the source of all the forms of government, established by the English, who are rational and free, throughout North America.

THE government of Nova Scotia, of one of the provinces in New England, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, the two Carolinas and Georgia is styled royal; because the king of England is there vested with the supreme authority. Representatives of the people form a lower house, as in the mother country: a select council, approved by the king, intended to support the prerogatives

tives of the crown, represents the house of peers, and maintains that representation by the fortune and rank of the most distinguished persons in the country, who are members of it. A governor convenes, prorogues, and dissolves their assemblies; gives or refuses assent to their deliberations, which receive from his approbation the force of law, till the king, to whom they are transmitted, has rejected them.

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THE second kind of government which takes place in the colonies, is known by the name of proprietary government. When the English first settled in those distant regions, a greedy, active court favourite easily obtained in those wastes, which were as large as kingdoms, a property and authority without bounds. A bow and a few skins, the only homage exacted by the crown, purchased for a man in power the right of sovereignty, or governing as he pleased in an unknown country: such was the origin of government in the greater part of the colonies. At present, Maryland and Pennsylvania are the only provinces under this singular form of government; or rather this irregular foundation of sovereignty. Maryland, indeed, differs from the rest of the provinces only by receiving its governor from the family of Baltimore, whose nomination is to be approved by the king. In Pennsylvania, the governor named by the proprietary family, and confirmed by the crown, is not supported by a council, which gives a kind of superiority, and he is obliged to agree with the commons, in whom is naturally vested all authority.

A third form, styled by the English, charter government, seems more calculated to adduce harmony in the constitution. After having been that of all the provinces of New England, it now subsists only in Connecticut, and in Rhode island. It may be considered as a mere democracy. The inhabitants of themselves elect,

B O O K depose all their officers, and make all laws they think
IV. proper, without being obliged to have the assent of the
king, or his having any right to annul them.

AT length the conquest of Canada, joined to the acquisition of Florida, has given rise to a form of legislation hitherto unknown throughout the realm of Great-Britain. Those provinces have been put or left under the yoke of military, and consequently absolute authority. Without any right to assemble in a national body, they receive immediately from the court of London every motion of government.

THIS diversity of governments is not the work of the mother country. We do not find the traces of a reasonable, uniform and regular legislation. It is chance, climate, the prejudices of the times and of the founders of the colonies that have produced this motley variety of constitutions. It is not for men, who are cast by chance upon a desert coast, to constitute a legislation.

ALL legislation, in its nature, should aim at the happiness of society. The means by which it is to attain that singular elevated point, depend entirely on its natural qualities. Climate, that is to say, the sky and the soil, are the first rule for the legislator. His resources dictate to him his duties. In the first instance, the local position should be consulted. A number of people thrown on a maritime coast, will have laws more or less relative to agriculture or navigation, in proportion to the influence the sea or land may have on the subsistence of the inhabitants who are to people that desert coast. If the new colony is led by the course of some large river far within land, a legislator ought to have regard to their race, and the degree of their fecundity, and the connections the colony will have either within or without

without by the traffic of commodities most advantageous to its prosperity. BOOK
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BUT it is especially in the distribution of property that the wisdom of legislation will appear. In general and throughout all the countries in the world, when a colony is founded, land is to be given to every person, that is to say, to every one an extent sufficient for the maintenance of a family: more should be given to those who have abilities to make the necessary advances for improvement: some should be kept vacant for posterity, or for additional settlers, with which the colony may in time be augmented.

THE first object of a rising colony is subsistence and population: the next is the prosperity likely to flow from these two sources. To avoid occasions of war, whether offensive or defensive; to turn industry towards those objects which produce most; not to form connections around them, except such as are unavoidable, and may be proportioned to the stability which the colony acquires by the number of its inhabitants, and the nature of its resources; to introduce above all things a partial and local spirit in a nation which is going to be established, a spirit of union within, and of peace without; to refer every institution to a distant but lasting point; and to make every occasional law subservient to the settled regulation which alone is to effect an increase of numbers, and to give stability to the settlement: these circumstances make no more than a sketch of a legislation.

THE moral system is to be formed on the nature of the climate; a large field for population is at first to be laid open by facilitating marriage, which depends upon the facility of procuring subsistence. Sanctity of manners should be established by opinion. In a barbarous island, which is to be stocked with children, no more would be necessary than to leave the first dawnings of truth to enlarge

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large themselves, as reason unfolds itself. With proper precautions against idle fears, proceeding from ignorance, the errors of superstition should be removed, till that period when the warmth of the natural passions, fortunately united with the rational powers, dissipates every phantom. But when people, already advanced in life, are to be established in a new country, the ability of legislation consists in not leaving behind any injurious opinions or habits, which may be cured or corrected. If we wish that they should not be transmitted to posterity, we should watch over the second generation by a general and public education of the children. A prince or legislator should never found a colony, without previously sending thither some proper persons for the education of youth; that is, some governors rather than teachers: for it is of less moment to teach them what is good, than to guard them from evil. Good education arrives too late, when the people are already corrupted. The seeds of morality and virtue, sown in the infancy of a race already corrupted, are annihilated in the early stages of manhood by debauchery, and the contagion of such vices as have already become habitual in society. The best educated young men cannot come into the world without making engagements and contracting acquaintance, on which the remainder of their lives depends. If they marry, follow any profession, or pursuit, they find the seeds of evil and corruption rooted in every condition: a conduct entirely opposite to their principles: example and discourse which disconcerts and combats their best resolutions.

BUT in a rising colony, the influence of the first generation may be corrected by the manners of the succeeding. The minds of all are prepared for virtue by labour. The necessities of life remove all vices proceed-
ing

ing from leisure. The overflowings of such population have a natural tendency towards the mother country, where luxury continually invites and seduces the rich and voluptuous planter. All means are open to the precautions of a legislator, who intends to refine the constitution and manners of the colony. Let them but have genius and virtue, the lands and the people he has to manage will suggest to his mind a plan of society, that a writer can only mark out in a vague manner, liable to all the uncertainty of hypotheses that are varied and complicated by an infinity of circumstances too difficult to be foreseen and put together.

BUT the first foundation of a society for cultivation or commerce, is property. It is the seed of good and evil, natural or moral, consequent on the social state. Every nation seems to be divided into two irreconcilable parties. The rich and the poor, the men of property, and the hirelings; that is to say, masters and slaves, form two classes of citizens, unfortunately in opposition with one another.

IN vain have some modern authors wished by sophistry to establish a treaty of peace between these two states. The rich on all occasions are disposed to get a great deal from the poor at little expence; and the poor are ever inclined to set a higher value on their labour: while the rich man must always give the law in that too unequal bargain. Hence arises the system of counterpoise established in so many countries. The people have not desired to attack property which they considered as sacred, but they have made attempts to fetter it, and to check its natural tendency to absorb the whole. These counterpoises have almost always been ill applied, as they were but a feeble remedy against the original evil in society. It is then to the reparation of lands that a legislator will
turn

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turn his principal attention. The more wisely that distribution shall be managed, the more simple, uniform and precise will be those laws of the country which principally conduce to the preservation of property.

THE English colonies partake, in that respect, of the radical vice inherent in the ancient constitution of the mother country. As its present government is but a reformation of that feudal government which had oppressed all Europe, it still retains many usages, which being originally but abuses of servitude, are still more sensible by their contrast with the liberty which the people have recovered. It has, therefore, been found necessary to join the laws which left many rights to the nobility to those which modify, lessen, abrogate or soften the feudal rights. Hence so many laws of exception for one of principle; so many of interpretation for one fundamental; so many new laws that are at variance with the old. So that it is agreed, there is not in the whole world a code so diffuse, so perplexed as that of the civil law of Great Britain. The wisest men of that enlightened nation have often exclaimed against this disorder. They have either not been heard, or the changes which have been produced by their remonstrances, have only served to increase the confusion.

By their dependence and their ignorance the colonies have blindly adopted that deformed and ill-digested mass, whose burden oppressed their ancestors: they have added to that obscure heap of materials by every new law that the times, manners, and place could introduce. From this mixture has resulted a chaos the most difficult to unfold; a collection of contradictions that require much pains to reconcile. Immediately there sprang up a numerous body of lawyers to devour the lands and inhabitants of those new-settled climates. The fortune and
in-

influence they have acquired in a short time, have brought into subjection to their rapaciousness the valuable class of citizens employed in agriculture, commerce, in all the arts and toils most indispensably necessary for all society; but almost singularly essential to a rising community. To the severe evil of chicane, which has attached itself to the branches, in order to seize on the fruit, has succeeded the scourge of finance, which preys on the heart and root of the tree.

IN the origin of the colonies, the coin bore the same value as in the mother country. The scarcity of it soon occasioned a rise of one third. That inconvenience was not remedied by the abundance of specie which came from the Spanish colonies; because they were obliged to transmit that into England in order to pay for the merchandise they wanted from thence. This was a gulph that sucked up the circulation in the colonies. The confusion occasioned by this continual export furnished a pretence for the employing of paper-money.

The coin current in the English colonies of North America.

THERE are two sorts of it. The first has in view the encouragement of agriculture, trade and industry. Every colonist who has more ambition than means, obtains from the province a paper credit, provided he consents to pay an interest of 5 per cent. furnishes a sufficient mortgage, and agrees to repay every year a tenth of the capital borrowed. By means of this mark, which is received without dispute into the public treasury, and which their fellow-citizens cannot refuse, the business of private persons becomes more brisk and easy. The government itself draws considerable advantages from this circulation; because as it receives interest and pays none, it can without the aid of taxes apply this fund to the important objects of public utility.

BUT

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BUT there is another sort of paper, whose existence is solely owing to the necessities of government. The several provinces of America had formed projects and contracted engagements beyond their abilities. They thought to make good the deficiency of their money by credit. Taxes were imposed to liquidate those bills that pressed for payment; but before the taxes had produced that salutary effect, new wants came on that required fresh loans. The debts, therefore, accumulated, and the taxes were not sufficient to answer them. At length, the amount of the government bills exceeded all bounds after the late hostilities, during which the colonies had raised and provided for 25,000 men, and contributed to all the expences of so long and obstinate a war. The paper thus sank into the utmost disrepute, though it had been introduced only by the consent of the several general assemblies, and that each province was to be answerable for what was of their own creation.

THE parliament of Great Britain observed this confusion, and attempted to remedy it. They regulated the quantity of paper circulation each colony should create for the future, and as far as their information went, proportioned the mass of it to their riches and resources. This regulation displeased all persons, and in the year 1769, it was softened.

PAPER, of the usual figure of the coin, still continues to pass in all kind of business. Each piece is composed of two round leaves, glued one to the other, and bearing on each side the stamp that distinguishes them. There are some of every value. Each province has a public building for the making of them, and private houses whence they are distributed: the pieces, which are much worn or solid, are carried to these houses, and fresh ones received in exchange. There never has been an instance

of

of the officers employed in these exchanges having been guilty of the least fraud. BOOK
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BUT this honesty is not sufficient for the prosperity of the colonies. Though for forty years their consumption has increased four times as much as their population, whence it is apparent that the abilities of each subject are four times what they were, yet one may foretell that these large establishments will never rise to that degree of splendour for which nature designs them unless the fetters are broken, which confine both their interior industry and their foreign trade.

THE first colonists that peopled North America applied themselves in the beginning solely to agriculture. It was not long before they perceived that their exports did not enable them to buy what they wanted, and they, therefore, found themselves in a manner compelled to set up some rude manufactories. The interests of the mother country seemed hurt at this innovation. The circumstance was brought into parliament, and there discussed with all the attention it deserved. There were men bold enough to defend the cause of the colonists. They urged, that as the business of tillage did not employ men all the year round, it was tyranny to oblige them to waste in idleness the time which the land did not require: that as the produce of agriculture and hunting did not furnish them to the extent of their wants, it was reducing them to misery to hinder the people from providing against them by a new species of industry: in short, that the prohibition of manufactures only tended to occasion the price of all provisions in a rising state to be enhanced, to lessen, or, perhaps, stop the sale of them, and keep off such persons as might intend to settle there.

THE evidence of these principles was not to be controverted: they were complied with after great debates.

The

The English colonies in North America are shackled in their industry and commerce.

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The Americans were permitted to manufacture their own cloths themselves, but with such restrictions as betrayed how much avarice regretted, what an appearance of justice could not but allow. All communication from one province to another on this account was severely prohibited. They were forbidden under the heaviest penalties to traffic from one to the other for wool of any sort, raw, or manufactured. However, some manufacturers of hats ventured to break through these restrictions. To put a stop to what was termed a heinous disorderly practice, the parliament had recourse to that mean and cruel spirit of regulations. A workman was not empowered to set up for himself till after seven years apprenticeship; a master was not allowed to have more than two apprentices at a time, nor to employ any slave in his workshop.

IRON mines, which seem to put into mens hands the marks of their own independence, were laid under restrictions still more severe. It was not allowed to carry iron in bars, or rough lumps any where but to the mother country. Without crucibles to melt it, or machines to bend it, without hammers or anvils to fashion it, they had still less the liberty of converting it into steel.

IMPORTATION received still further restraints. All foreign vessels, unless in evident distress or danger of wreck, or freighted with gold or silver, were not to come into any of the ports of North America. Even English vessels are not admitted there, unless they come immediately from some port of that country. The shipping of the colonies going to Europe, are to bring back no merchandise but from the mother country, except wine from the Madeiras, and the Azores, and salt necessary for their fisheries.

ALL exportations were originally to terminate in England: but weighty reasons have determined the government

ment to relax and abate this extreme severity: It is at present allowed to the colonists to carry directly south of Cape Finisterre, grain, meal, rice, vegetables, fruit, salt, fish, planks, and timber. All other productions belong exclusively to the mother country. Even Ireland that furnished an advantageous vent for corn, flax, and pipe staves, has been shut against them by an act of parliament for 1766.

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THE parliament, which is the representative of the nation, assumes the right of directing commerce in its whole extent throughout the British dominions. It is by that authority they pretend to regulate the connections between the mother country and the colonies, to maintain a communication, an advantageous reciprocal re-action between the scattered parts of the immense empire. There should, in fact, be one power to appeal to, in order to determine finally upon the relations that may be useful or prejudicial to the general good of the whole society. The parliament is the only body that can assume such an important power. But they ought to employ it to the advantage of every member of that confederated society. This is an inviolable maxim, especially in a state where all the powers are formed and directed for the preservation of natural liberty.

THEY departed from that principle of impartiality, which alone can maintain the equal state of independence among the several members of a free government; when the colonies were obliged to vent in the mother country all their productions, even those which were not for its own consumption: when they were obliged to take from the mother country all kinds of merchandise, even those which came from foreign nations. This imperious and useless restraint, loading the sales and purchases of the Americans with unnecessary and ruinous charges,

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charges, has of course lessened their activity, and consequently diminished their profits; and it has been only for the purpose of enriching a few merchants, or some factors at home, that the rights and interests of the colonies have thus been sacrificed. All they owed to England for the protection they received from her, was but a preference in the sale and importation of all such of their commodities as she could consume; and a preference in the purchase and in the exportation of all such merchandise as came from her hands: so far all submission was a return of gratitude; beyond it all obligation was violence.

It is thus that tyranny has given birth to contraband trade. Transgression is the first effect produced by unreasonable laws. In vain has it frequently been repeated to the colonies, that smuggling was contrary to the fundamental interest of their settlements, to all reason of government, and to the express intentions of law. In vain has it been continually laid down in public writings that the subject who pays duty is oppressed by him who does not pay it; and that the fraudulent merchant robs the fair trader by disappointing him of his lawful profit. In vain have precautions been multiplied for preventing such frauds, and fresh penalties inflicted for the punishment of them. The voice of interest, reason and equity has prevailed over all the clamours and attempts of finance. Foreign importations smuggled into North America, amount to one third of those which pay duty.

AN indefinite liberty, or merely a restraint within due bounds, will stop the prohibited engagements of which so much complaint has been made. Then the colonies will arrive at a state of affluence, which will enable them to discharge a weight of debt due to the mother country, amounting, perhaps, to 150 millions, (6,562,500*l.*) and

to draw yearly thence goods to the amount of 108 millions, (4,725,000*l.*) agreeable to the calculation of American consumption stated by the parliament of Great Britain in 1766. But instead of this pleasing prospect, which one should imagine must of course arise from the constitution of the English government, was there any necessity by a pretension not to be supported among a free people, to introduce into the colonies with the hardships of taxation, the seeds of disorder and discord, and perhaps to kindle a flame which it is not so easy to extinguish as to light up?

ENGLAND had just emerged from a war, as one may say universal, during which her fleets had planted the standard of victory over all the seas, and her conquests had enlarged her dominion with an immense territory in both the Indies. Such a sudden increase gave her in the eyes of all the world a splendour that must raise envy and admiration; but within herself she was continually reduced to grieve at her triumphs. Crushed with a load of debt to the amount of 3,330,000,000 livres, (145,687,500*l.*) that cost her an interest of 111,577,490 livres (4,881,515*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*) a year, she was with difficulty able to support the current expences of the state, with a revenue of 240,000,000 livres; (10,500,000*l.*) and that revenue far from increasing was not even secure of its continuance.

The mother-country has attempted to establish taxes in the colonies of North America. Whether she had a right to do this?

THE land was charged with a higher tax than it had ever been in time of peace. New duties on houses and windows undermined that sort of property; and an augmentation of the tax upon stamping of deeds was a heavy load upon property in money. A terror had been struck even into luxury itself by taxes heaped on plate, cards, dice, wines, and brandy. No further expectation was left from commerce, which paid in every port, at

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every issue for the merchandise of Asia, for the produce of America, for spices, silks, for every article of export or import, whether manufactured or unwrought. The prohibitions of heavy duties had fortunately restrained the abuses of spirituous liquors; but that was partly at the expence of the public revenue. It was thought amends would be made by one of those expedients which it is generally easy to find, but hazardous to look out for, among the objects of general consumption, and absolute necessity. Duties were laid on the ordinary drink of the common people, on malt, cider, and beer. Every spring was strained: every power of the body politic had been extended to its utmost stretch. Materials and workmanship had so prodigiously risen in price, that foreigners, whether rivals or conquered, which before had not been able to support a contest with the English, were enabled to supplant them in every market, even in their own ports. The commercial advantages of Britain with every part of the world could not be valued at more than fifty-six millions; (2,450,000*l.*) and that situation obliged her to draw from the balance on her side, 35,100,000 livres, (1,535,625*l.*) to pay the interest of 1,170,000,000 livres (51,187,500*l.*) which foreigners had placed in her public funds.

THE crisis was a violent one. It was time to give the people some relief. They could not be eased by a diminution of expences, those being inevitable, either for the purpose of improving the conquests purchased by such a loss of blood and treasure; or to keep within bounds the resentment of the House of Bourbon, soured by the humiliations of the late war, and the sacrifices of the late peace. In default of other means, to support with a steady hand as well her present security as future prosperity, the expedient occurred of calling in the colonies to the aid of the mother country, by making them bear

bear a part of her burthen. This determination seemed to be founded on reasons not to be controverted.

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IT is a duty imposed by the avowed maxims of all societies and of every age, on the different members which compose a state, to contribute towards all expences in proportion to their respective abilities. The security of the American provinces requires such a share of assistance from them, as may enable the mother country to protect them upon all occasions. It was to deliver them from the uneasiness that molested them, that England had engaged in a war which has multiplied her debts: they ought then to aid her in bearing or lessening the weight of that overcharge. At present, when they are freed of all apprehension from the attempts of a formidable adversary, which they have fortunately removed, can they without injustice refuse their deliverer, when her necessities are pressing, that money which purchased their preservation? Has not that generous protector, for a considerable time, granted encouragement to the improvement of their rich productions? Has she not lavished gratuitous advances of money, and does she not still lavish them on lands not yet cleared? Do not such benefits deserve to meet a return of relief and even of services?

SUCH were the motives that persuaded the British government that they had a right to establish taxation in the colonies. They availed themselves of the event of the late war to assert this claim so dangerous to liberty. For if we attend to it, we shall find that war, whether successful or not, serves always as a pretext for every usurpation of government; as if the heads of warring nations rather intended to reduce their subjects to more confirmed submission, than to make a conquest of their enemies. The American provinces were accordingly ordered

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dered to furnish the troops sent by the mother country for their security with a part of the necessaries required by an army. The apprehension of disturbing that agreement which is so necessary among ourselves, when surrounded by adversaries without, induced them to comply with the injunctions of the parliament; but with such prudence as not to speak of an act they could neither reject without occasioning civil dissention, nor recognize without exposing rights too precious to be forfeited. New-York alone ventured to disapprove the orders sent from Europe. Though the transgression was slight, it was punished as a disobedience by a suspension of her privileges.

It was most probable, that this attack made on the liberty of one colony would excite the remonstrances of all the rest. Either through want of attention or foresight, neither of them complained. This silence was interpreted to proceed from fear, or from voluntary submission. Peace, that should lessen taxes every where, gave birth in the year 1764 to that famous stamp-act, which, by laying a duty on all marked paper, at the same time forbade the use of any other in public writings, whether judicial, or extra-judicial.

ALL the English colonies of the new continent revolted against this innovation, and their discontent manifested itself by signal acts. They entered into an agreement or conspiracy, the only one that suited moderate and civilized people, to forego all manufactures made up in the mother country, till the bill they complained of was repealed. The women whose weakness was most to be feared, were the first to give up whatever Europe had before furnished them with, either for parade or convenience. Animated by their example, the men rejected the commodities for which they were indebted

to the old world. In the northern countries, they were found paying as much for the coarse stuffs, made under their own inspection, as for fine cloths which were brought over the seas. They engaged not to eat lamb, that their flocks might increase, and in time be sufficient for the clothing of all the colonists. In the southern provinces where wool is scarce and of an inferior quality, they were to dress themselves with cotton and flax furnished by their own climate. Agriculture was every where neglected, in order that the people might qualify themselves for the industry of the workshop.

THIS kind of indirect and passive opposition, which deserves to be imitated by all nations who may hereafter be aggrieved by the undue exercise of authority, produced the desired effect. The English manufacturers who had scarce any other vent for their goods than their own colonies, fell into that state of despondency, which is the natural consequence of want of employment : and their complaints which could neither be stifled nor concealed by administration, made an impression which proved favourable to the colonies. The stamp-act was repealed after a violent struggle that lasted two years, and which in an age of fanaticism, would, doubtless, have occasioned a civil war.

BUT the triumph of the colonies did not last long. The parliament had given up the point with the greatest reluctance : and it clearly appeared they had not laid aside their pretensions, when in 1767, they threw the duties which the stamp-act would have produced, upon all glass, lead, tea, colours, pasteboard, and stained paper exported from England to America. Even the patriots themselves who seemed most inclined to enlarge the authority of the mother country over the colonies, could not help condemning a tax, which in its consequen-

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ces must affect the whole nation, by disposing numbers to apply themselves to manufactures, who ought to have been solely devoted to the improvement of lands. The colonists have not been the dupes of this, any more than of the first innovation. It has in vain been urged that government had the power to impose what duties it thought proper upon exported goods, so long as it did not deprive the colonies of the liberty of manufacturing the articles subject to this new tax. This subterfuge has been considered as a derision, in respect to a people who being devoted entirely to agriculture, and confined to trade only with the mother country, could not procure either by their own labour, or by their connections abroad, the necessary articles that were sold them at so high a price. They thought when a tax was to be imposed, it was nothing more than a nominal distinction, whether it were levied in Europe, or America; and that their liberty was equally infringed by a duty laid upon commodities they really wanted, as by a tax upon stamp paper, which they had been made to consider as a necessary article. These intelligent people saw that government was inclined to deceive them, and thought it an indignity to suffer themselves to be the dupes either of force, or of fraud. It appeared to them the surest mark of weakness and degeneracy in the subjects of any nation, to wink at all the artful and violent measures adopted by government to corrupt and enslave them.

THE dislike they have shewn to these new imposts, was not founded on the idea of their being exorbitant, as they did not amount to more than one livre, 8 sols (about 1s. 3d.) for each person: which could give no alarm to a very populous community, whose public expence never exceeded the annual sum of 3,600,000 livres. (157,500*l*.)

IT was not from any apprehension that the ease of their circumstances would be affected: since the security they derived from the provinces ceded by France in the last war; the increase of their trade with the savages; the enlargement of their whale and cod fisheries, together with those of the shark and the seal; the right of cutting wood in the bay of Campeachy; the acquisition of several sugar islands; the opportunities of carrying on a contraband trade with the neighbouring Spanish settlements: all these circumstances of advantage were abundantly sufficient to compensate the small proportion of revenue which government seemed so anxious to raise.

IT was not their concern lest the colonies should be drained of the small quantity of specie which continued in circulation. The pay of eight thousand four hundred regular troops; maintained by the mother country in North America, must bring much more coin into the country than the tax could carry out of it.

IT was not an indifference towards the mother country. The colonies, far from being ungrateful, have demonstrated so zealous an attachment to her interests during the last war, that parliament had the equity to order considerable sums to be remitted to them by way of restitution, or indemnification.

NOR, lastly, was it ignorance of the obligations that subjects owe to government. Had not even the colonies acknowledged themselves bound to contribute towards the payment of the national debt, though they had, perhaps, been the occasion of contracting the greatest part of it; they knew very well that they were liable to contribute towards the expences of the navy, the maintenance of the African and American settlements; and to all the common expenditures relative to their own preservation and prosperity, as well as to that of the mother country.

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IF the Americans refuse to lend their assistance to Europe, it is because what need only have been asked was exacted from them; and because what was required of them as a matter of obedience, ought to have been raised by voluntary contribution. Their refusal was not the effect of caprice, but of jealousy of their rights, which have been confirmed in some judicious writings, and more particularly in some eloquent letters, from which we shall borrow the principal facts we are going to state on a subject which must be interesting to every nation on the globe.

DURING almost two centuries that have passed since the English established themselves in North America, their country has been harassed by expensive and bloody wars; thrown into confusion by enterprizing and turbulent parliaments; and governed by a bold and corrupt ministry, ever ready to raise the power of the crown upon the ruin of all the privileges and rights of the people. But notwithstanding the influence of ambition, avarice, faction, and tyranny, the liberty of the colonies to raise their own taxes for the support of the public revenue hath on all hands been acknowledged and regarded.

THIS privilege so natural and consonant to the fundamental principles of all rational society, was confirmed by a solemn compact. The colonies might appeal to their original charters, which authorize them to tax themselves freely and voluntarily. These acts were, in truth, nothing more than agreements made with the crown; but even supposing that the prince had exceeded his authority by making concessions which certainly did not turn to his advantage, long possession tacitly owned and acknowledged by the silence of parliament, must constitute a legal prescription.

THE American provinces have still more authentic claims to urge in their favour. They assert, that a subject of England, in whatever hemisphere he resides, is not obliged to contribute to the expences of the state without his own consent, given either by himself, or his representatives. It is in the defence of this sacred right that the nation has so often spilt her blood, dethroned her kings, and either excited or opposed numberless commotions. Will she chuse to dispute with two millions of her children, an advantage which has cost her so dear, and is, perhaps, the sole foundation of her own independence?

It is urged against the colonies, that the Roman catholics residing in England are excluded from the right of voting, and that their estates are subject to a double tax. The colonists ask in reply, why the papists refuse to take the oath of allegiance required by the state? This conduct makes them suspected by government, and the jealousy it excites, authorises that government to treat them with rigour. Why not abjure a religion so contrary to the free constitution of their country, so favourable to the inhuman claims of despotism, and to the attempts of the crown against the rights of the people? Why that blind prepossession in favour of a church which is an enemy to all others? They deserve the penalties which the state that tolerates them imposes upon subjects of intolerant principles. But the inhabitants of the new world would be punished without having offended, if they were not able to become subjects without ceasing to be Americans.

THESE faithful colonies have likewise been told with some confidence, that there are multitudes of subjects in England who are not represented; because they have not the property required to intitle them to vote at an election

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election for members of parliament. What ground have they to expect any greater privileges than those enjoyed by the subjects of the mother country? The colonies, in answer to this, deny that they wish for superior indulgences; they only want to share them in common with their brethren. In Great Britain a person who enjoys a freehold of forty shillings a year, is consulted in the framing of a tax-bill, and shall not the man who possesses an immense tract of land in America have the same privilege? No. That which is an exception to a law, a deviation from the general rule of the mother country ought not to become a fundamental point of constitution for the colonies. Let the English who wish to deprive the provinces in America of the right of taxing themselves, suppose for a moment, that the house of commons, instead of being chosen by them, is an hereditary and established tribunal, or even arbitrarily appointed by the crown; if this body could levy taxes upon the whole nation without consulting the public opinion, and the general inclinations of the people, would not the English look upon themselves to be as much slaves as any other nation? However, even in this case, five hundred men, surrounded by seven millions of their fellow subjects, might be kept within the bounds of moderation, if not by a principle of equity, at least, by a well-grounded apprehension of the public resentment, which pursues the oppressors of their country even beyond the grave. But the case of Americans taxed by the great council of the mother country would be irremediable. At too great a distance to be heard, they would be oppressed with taxes without regard to their complaints. Even the tyranny exercised towards them would be varnished over with the glorious appellation of patriotism. Under pretence of relieving the mother country, the colonies would be over-burthened with impunity.

WITH

WITH this alarming prospect before them, they will never submit to give up the right of taxing themselves. So long as they debate freely on the subject of public revenue, their interests will be attended to; or if their rights should sometimes be violated, they will soon obtain a redress of their grievances. But their remonstrances will no longer have any weight with government, when they are not supported by the right of granting or refusing money towards the exigencies of the state. The same power which will have usurped the right of levying taxes, will easily usurp the distribution of them. As it dictates what proportion they shall raise, it will likewise dictate how that shall be laid out; and the sums apparently designed for their service, will be employed to enslave them. Such has been the progression of empires in all ages. No society ever preserved its liberty, after it had lost the privilege of voting in the confirmation, or establishment of laws, relative to the revenue. A nation must for ever be enslaved, in which no assembly or body of men remains, who have the power to defend its rights against the encroachments of the state by which it is governed.

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the colonies
should
submit to
be taxed.

THE provinces in English America have every reason imaginable to dread the loss of their independence. Even their confidence may betray them, and make them fall a prey to the designs of the mother country. They are inhabited by an infinite number of honest and upright people, who have no suspicion that those who hold the reigns of empire can be hurried away by unjust and tyrannical passions. They take it for granted that their country cherishes those sentiments of maternal tenderness which are so consonant to her true interests, and to the love and veneration which they entertain for her. To the unsuspecting credulity of these honest subjects, who cherish so agreeable a delusion, may be added the acqui-

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acquiescence of those who think it not worth while to trouble their repose on account of inconsiderable taxes. These indolent people do not perceive that the plan was, at first, to lull their vigilance asleep by imposing a moderate duty; that England only wanted to establish an example of submission, upon which it might ground future pretensions; that if the parliament has been able to raise one guinea, it can raise ten thousand; and that there will be no more reason to limit this right, than there would be justice in acknowledging it at present. But the greatest injury to liberty arises from a set of ambitious men, who pursuing an interest distinct from that of the public and of posterity, are wholly bent on increasing their credit, their rank, and their estates. The British ministry, from whom they have procured employments, or expect to receive them, finds them always ready to favour their odious projects, by the contagion of their luxury and their vices; by their artful insinuations, and the flexibility of their conduct.

LET all true patriots then firmly oppose the snares of prejudice, indolence, and seduction; nor let them despair of being victorious in a contest in which their virtue has engaged them. Attempts will, perhaps, be made to shake their fidelity, by the plausible proposal of allowing their representatives a seat in parliament, in order to regulate, in conjunction with those of the mother country, the taxes to be raised by the nation at large. Such, indeed, is the extent, populousness, wealth, and importance of the colonies, that the legislature cannot govern them with wisdom and safety without availing itself of the advice and information of their representatives. But care should be taken not to authorise these deputies to decide in matters concerning the fortune and the contributions of their constituents. The expostulations of a few men would be easily overborne by

by the numerous representatives of the mother country; and the provinces, whose instruments they would be, would, in this confused jumble of interests and opinions, be laden with too heavy and too unequal a part of the common burthen. Let then the right of appointing, proportioning and raising the taxes continue to be exclusively vested in the provincial assemblies; who ought to be the more jealous of it at the present juncture, as the power of depriving them of it seems to have gained strength by the conquests made in the last war.

FROM its late acquisitions, the mother country has derived the advantage of extending her fisheries, and strengthening her alliance with the savages. But as if this success passed for nothing in her estimation, she persists in declaring, that this increase of territory has answered no end, and produced no effect but to secure the tranquillity of the colonies. The colonies, on the contrary, maintain, that their lands, on which their whole welfare depended, have decreased considerably in their value by this immense extent of territory; that their population being diminished, or, at least, not increased, their country is the more exposed to invasions; and that the most northern provinces are rivalled by Canada, and the most southern by Florida. The colonists, who judge of future events by the history of the past, even go so far as to say, that the military government established in the conquered provinces, the numerous troops maintained, and the forts erected there, may one day contribute to enslave countries, which have hitherto flourished only upon the principles of liberty.

GREAT BRITAIN possesses all the authority over her colonies that she ought to wish for. She has a right to annul any laws they shall make. The executive power is entirely lodged in the hands of her delegates: and
in

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in all determinations of a civil nature, an appeal lies to her tribunal. She regulates at discretion all commercial connections, which are allowed to be formed and pursued by the colonists. To strain an authority so wisely tempered, would be to plunge a rising continent afresh into that state of confusion from which it had with difficulty emerged in the course of two centuries of incessant labour; and to reduce the men, who had laboured to clear the ground, to the necessity of taking up arms in the defence of those sacred rights to which they are equally intitled by nature, and the laws of society. Shall the English, who are so passionately fond of liberty, that they have sometimes protected it in regions widely remote in climate and interest, forgot those sentiments, which their glory, their virtue, their natural feelings, and their security conspire to render a perpetual obligation? Shall they so far betray the rights they hold so dear, as to wish to enslave their brethren and their children? If, however, it should happen that the spirit of faction should devise so fatal a design, and should, in an hour of madness and intoxication, get it patronized by the mother country; what steps ought the colonies to take to save themselves from the state of the most odious dependence?

How far
the colo-
nies ought
to carry
their oppo-
sition to
Taxation.

BEFORE they turn their eyes on this political combustion, they will recall to memory all the advantages they owe to their country. England has always been their barrier against the powerful nations of Europe: and served as a guide and moderator to watch over their preservation, and to heal those civil dissensions, which jealousy and rivalry too frequently excite between neighbouring plantations in their rising state. It is to the influence of its excellent constitution that they owe the peace and prosperity they enjoy. While the

colonies live under so salutary and mild an administration, they will continue to make a rapid progress in the vast field of improvement that opens itself to their view, and which their industry will extend to the remotest deserts.

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LET the love of their country, however, be accompanied with a certain jealousy of their liberties; and let their rights be constantly examined into, cleared up, and discussed. Let them never fail to consider those as the best citizens, who are perpetually calling their attention to those points. The spirit of jealousy is proper in all free states; but it is particularly necessary in complicated governments, where liberty is blended with a certain degree of dependence, such as is required in a connection between countries separated by an immense ocean. This vigilance will be the surest guardian of the union which ought strongly to cement the mother country and her colonies.

IF the ministry which is always composed of ambitious men, even in a free state, should attempt to increase the power of the crown, or the opulence of the mother-country, at the expence of the colonies, the colonies ought to resist such an usurping power with unremitted spirit. When any measure of government meets with a warm opposition, it seldom fails to be rectified; while grievances, which are suffered for want of courage to redress them, are constantly succeeded by fresh instances of oppression. Nations, in general, are more apt to feel, than to reflect; and have no other ideas of the legality of a power than the very exercise of that power. Accustomed to obey without examination, they in general, become familiarized to the hardships of government; and being ignorant of the origin and design of society, do not conceive the idea of setting bounds, to au-

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thority. In those states especially, where the principles of legislation are confounded with those of religion, as one extravagant opinion opens a door for the reception of a thousand among those who have been once deceived; so the first encroachments of government pave the way for all the rest. He who believes much will believe little; and he who can do much, can do little: and to this double mistake in regard either to belief or power, it is owing that all the absurdities and ill practices in religion and politics have been introduced into the world, in order to oppress the human species. The spirit of toleration and of liberty, which has hitherto prevailed in the English colonies, has happily preserved them from falling into this extreme of folly and misery. They have too high a sense of the dignity of human nature not to resist oppression, though at the hazard of their lives.

A PEOPLE so intelligent do not want to be told that desperate resolutions and violent measures cannot be justifiable, till they have in vain tried every possible method of reconciliation. But at the same time, they know that if they are reduced to the necessity of choosing slavery or war, and taking arms in defence of their liberty, they ought not to tarnish so glorious a cause with all the horrors and cruelties attendant on sedition: and tho' resolved not to sheath the sword till they have recovered their rights; that they should make no other use of their victory than to procure the re-establishment of their original state of legal independence.

LET us, however, take care not to confound the resistance which the English colonies ought to make to their mother country, with the fury of a people excited to revolt against their sovereign by a long series of excessive oppression. When the slaves of an arbitrary monarch have once broken their chain, and submitted their

their fate to the decision of the sword, they are obliged to massacre the tyrant, to exterminate his whole race, and to change the form of that government, under which they have suffered for many ages. If they venture not thus far, they will sooner or later be punished for having been courageous only by halves. The blow will be retorted upon them with greater force than ever; and the affected clemency of their tyrants will only prove a new saare, in which they will be caught and entangled without hope of deliverance. It is the misfortune of factions in an absolute government, that neither prince nor people set any bounds to their resentment; because they know none in the exercise of their power. But a constitution qualified like that of the English colonies, carries in its principles and the limitation of its power, a remedy and preservative against the evils of anarchy. When the mother country has removed their complaints by reinstating them in their former situation, they ought to proceed no further: because such a situation is the happiest that a wise people have a right to aspire to.

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THEY could not embrace a plan of absolute independence, without breaking through the ties of religion, oaths, laws, language, relation, interest, trade and habit which unite them together under the mild authority of the mother country. Is it to be imagined that such an avulsion would not affect the heart, the vitals, and even the life of the colonies? If they should stop short of the violence of civil wars, would they easily be brought to agree upon a new form of government? If each settlement composed a distinct state, what divisions would ensue! We may judge of the animosities that would arise from their separation by the fate of all communities which nature has made to border on each other. But could it be supposed that so many

Whether it would be of use to the colonies to break thro' the ties which unite them to the mother-country.

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settlements where a diversity of laws, different degrees of opulence, and variety of possessions would sow the latent seeds of an opposition of interests, were desirous of forming a confederacy; how would they adjust the rank which each would aspire to hold, and the influence it ought to have in proportion to the risque it incurred, and the forces it supplied? Would not the same spirit of jealousy and a thousand other passions, which in a short time divided the wise states of Greece, raise discord between a multitude of colonies associated rather by the transient and brittle ties of passion and resentment, than by the sober principles of a natural and lasting combination? All these considerations seem to demonstrate, that an eternal separation from the mother country would prove a very great misfortune to the English colonies.

Whether it would be proper for the European nations to endeavour to render the English colonies independent of the mother country?

WE will go one step further, and affirm that were it in the power of the European nations who have possessions in the new world to effect this great revolution, it is not their interest to wish it. This will, perhaps, be thought a paradox by those powers, who see their colonies perpetually threatened with an invasion from their neighbours. They, doubtless, imagine that if the power of the English in America were lessened, they should peaceably enjoy their acquisitions which frequently excite their envy, and invite them to hostilities. It cannot be denied that their influence in these distant regions arises from the extent or populousness of their northern provinces: which enable them always to attack with advantage the islands and continental possessions of other nations, to conquer their territories, or ruin their trade. But, after all, this crown has interests in other parts of the globe which may counteract their progress in America, restrain or retard their enter-

enterprizes, and frustrate their conquests by the resti- BOOK
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tutions they will be obliged to make.

WHEN the ties subsisting between old and new Britain are once broken, the northern colonies will have more power when single, than when united with the mother country. This great continent, freed from all connections with Europe, will have the full command of all its motions. It will then become an important, as well as an easy undertaking to them, to invade those territories, whose riches will make amends for the scantiness of their productions. By the independent nature of its situation it will be enabled to get every thing in readiness for an invasion, before any account arrives in Europe. This nation will carry on their military operations with the spirit peculiar to new societies. They may make choice of their enemies, and conquer where and when they please. Their attacks will always be made upon such coasts as are liable to be taken by surprise, and upon those seas that are least guarded by foreign powers: who will find the countries they wished to defend conquered before any succours can arrive. It will be impossible to recover them by treaty, without making great concessions, or, when recovered for a time, to prevent their falling again under the same yoke. The colonies belonging to our absolute monarchies, will, perhaps, be inclined to meet a master with open arms, who cannot propose harder terms than their own government imposes; or after the example of the English colonies, will break the chain that rivets them so ignominiously to Europe.

LET no motive by any means prevail upon the nations who are rivals to England, either by insinuations, or by clandestine helps, to hasten a revolution, which

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would only deliver them from a neighbouring enemy, by giving them a much more formidable one at a distance. Why accelerate an event which must one day naturally take place from the unavoidable concurrence of so many others? For it would be contrary to the nature of things, if the province, subject to a presiding nation, should continue under its dominion, when equal to it in riches, and the number of inhabitants. Or, indeed, who can tell whether this disunion may not happen sooner? Is it not likely that the distrust and hatred which has of late taken place of that regard and attachment which the provinces formerly felt for the parent country, may bring on a separation? Thus every thing conspires to produce this great disruption, the æra of which it is impossible to know. Every thing tends to this point: the progress of good in the new hemisphere, and the progress of evil in the old.

ALAS! the sudden and rapid decline in our manners and our powers, the crimes of princes, and the sufferings of the people, will make this fatal catastrophe, which is to divide one part of the globe from the other, universal. The foundations of our tottering empires are sapped; materials are hourly collecting and preparing for their destruction, composed of the ruins of our laws, the ferment of contending opinions, and the subversion of our rights, which were the foundation of our courage; the luxury of our courts, and the miseries of the country; the lasting animosity between indolent men who engross all the wealth, and vigorous and even virtuous men, who have nothing to lose but their lives. In proportion as our people are weakened and resign themselves to each other's dominion, population and agriculture will flourish in America: the arts, transplanted by our means, will make a rapid progress: and that country
rising

rising out of nothing, will be fired with the ambition of appearing with glory in its turn on the face of the globe, and in the history of the world. O posterity! ye, peradventure, will be more happy than your unfortunate and contemptible ancestors. May this last wish be accomplished, and console the present expiring race with the hopes that a better will succeed it!

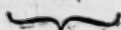
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IV.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

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B O O K V.

IN the first part of this work we began by endeavouring to describe the state of commerce in Europe before the discovery of the East and West-Indies. We then proceeded to trace the slow, difficult and tyrannical progress of the settlements formed in those distant regions. The work will be completed, if we can now determine the influence which the connections of the new world have had over the morals, government, arts and opinions of the old. Let us begin with religion.

Religion. RELIGION in man is the effect of a sense of his misfortunes, and of the fear of invisable powers.

MOST legislators have availed themselves of this disposition to govern the people, and still more to enslave them. Some of them have asserted that they held the rights of command from heaven itself, and it is thus that theocracy has been established.

If the religion of the Jews has had a more sublime origin, it has not been totally exempt from the inconveniences which the ambition of the priests necessarily introduces in a theocratic government.

CHRISTIANITY succeeded the Jewish institution. The subjection of a republic, that was mistress of the world, to a set of horrid tyrants; the dreadful miseries, which
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the luxury of the court and the maintenance of the armies scattered throughout this vast empire of the Neros; the successive irruptions of the barbarians, who dismembered this great body; the loss of the provinces which either revolted, or were invaded: all these natural evils had already prepared the minds of men for a new religion, and the revolutions of politics would necessarily have induced an innovation in the form of worship. In paganism, now grown old, nothing was to be seen but the fables to which it owed its origin, the folly or the vices of its gods, the avarice of its priests, and the infamy and irregularities of the kings who supported them. Then the people finding none but their tyrants upon earth, began to look up to heaven for protection.

CHRISTIANITY came to comfort them, and to teach them to suffer with patience. While the oppressions and licentiousness of the throne were sapping the foundations of paganism, together with those of the empire, the subjects, who had been oppressed and spoiled, and who had embraced the new doctrines, were completing this ruin by the examples they gave of those virtues which always accompany the zeal of new-made proselytes. But a religion that arose in the midst of public calamity must necessarily give its preachers a considerable influence over the unfortunate persons who took refuge in it. Thus the power of the clergy commenced at the very origin of the gospel.

FROM the remains of pagan superstitions and philosophic sects, a code of rites and tenets was formed, which the simplicity of the primitive christians sanctified with real and affecting piety; but which at the same time left the seeds of debates and controversies, from whence arose a variety of passions disguised under and dignified with the name of zeal. These dissensions produced schools,

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schools, doctors, a tribunal, and an hierarchy. The establishment of christianity had been begun by a set of fishermen, who knew nothing but the gospel; it was completed by bishops who formed the church. After this is gained ground by degrees, till at length it became known to the emperors. Some of these tolerated christianity either from motives of contempt or humanity; others persecuted it. Persecution hastened its progress, to which toleration had paved the way. Silence and proscription, clemency and rigour were all equally advantageous to it. The sense of freedom so natural to the human mind, induced many persons to embrace it in its infancy, as it has made others reject it since it has been established. This spirit of independence less attracted by truth than by novelty, would necessarily have brought in a multitude of followers of all ranks, if even the characters it was stamped with had not been fit to inspire veneration and respect.

CONSTANTINE, instead of uniting the crown to the priesthood when he was converted to christianity, as they were joined in the persons of the pagan emperors, granted to the clergy such a share of wealth and so much authority, and supplied them with so many means of future aggrandizement, that these blind concessions produced an ecclesiastical despotism, which in process of time became intolerable.

THIS despotism was carried to its highest pitch, when a part of Europe shook off the yoke. A monk withdrew from it almost all Germany; a priest one half of France; and a king one half of England for the sake of a woman. In other states, many men of bold minds gave up the tenets of christianity, and the most virtuous among them, preserved only a kind of attachment to the purity of its morals, though they conformed externally

to what was enjoined them by the laws of the society in **BOOK**
which they lived. **V.**

THIS mode of thinking will never become general and popular, unless the magistrate, who should be the proper inspector of every thing that is of such public notoriety as to influence the police, should put his original rights in force. Doctrines either for theory or practice are for this reason subject to the influence of government; whose power, as well as duty, is however confined to the restraining of every thing that is injurious to the happiness of the community, and to the permitting of every thing that does not disturb the peace and union of mankind.

ALL states ought to have nearly the same moral code of religion, and leave the rest, not to be disputed between men, because that ought to be prevented whenever public tranquillity is disturbed by it, but to the impulse of every man's conscience, thus allowing divines as well as philosophers an entire freedom of thinking. This unlimited toleration, with regard to all tenets and opinions that should not affect the moral code of nations, would be the only method of preventing or sapping the foundations of that power, whether spiritual or temporal, which the clergy assume; and which, in process of time, make them become a formidable body to the state; this is the only way to extinguish insensibly the enthusiasm of the clergy, and the fanaticism of the people.

IT is partly to the discovery of the new world that we shall owe that religious toleration which ought to be, and certainly will be introduced in the old. Persecution would only hasten the downfall of the religions that are now established. Industry and understanding have now prevailed among the nations, and gained an influence that must restore a certain equilibrium in the moral and civil order of society: the human mind is undeceived
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BOOK V. with regard to its former superstition. If we do not avail ourselves of this instant to re-establish the empire of reason, it must necessarily be given up to fresh suspicions.

EVERY thing has concurred for these two centuries past to exhaust that fury of zeal that devoured the earth. The depredations of the Spaniards throughout America, have shewn the world to what excess fanaticism may be carried. In establishing their religion by fire and sword through ravaged and depopulated countries, they have made it odious in Europe; and their cruelties have separated a greater number of catholics from the church of Rome, than they have made christians among the Indians. The concourse of persons of all sects in North America, has necessarily spread the spirit of toleration at a distance, and relieved our climates from religious wars. The sending of missionaries has delivered us from those turbulent men; who might have inflamed our country, and who are gone to carry the firebrands and swords of the gospel beyond the seas. Navigation and long voyages have insensibly detached a great number of the people from the extravagant ideas of superstition. The variety of religious worships, and the difference of nations, has accustomed the most vulgar minds to a sort of indifference for the object that had the greatest influence over their imaginations. The carrying on of trade between persons of the most opposite sects, has lessened the religious hatred that was the cause of their divisions. It has been found that morality and integrity are not inconsistent with any opinions whatever, and that irregularity of manners and avarice are equally prevalent every where; and hence it has been concluded that the manners of men have been regulated by the variety of climate and of government, and by social and national interest,

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SINCE the intercourse has been established between the two hemispheres of this world, our thoughts have been less engaged about that other world, which was the hope of the few, and the torment of the many. The diversity and multiplicity of objects that industry hath presented to the mind and to the senses, has divided the attachments of men, and weakened the power of every sentiment. Characters have been softened, and the spirit of fanaticism must necessarily have been extinguished as well as that of chivalry, and with them all those striking extravagancies that have prevailed among people that were indolent and unemployed. The same causes that have produced this revolution of manners, have exerted their influence on governments with still greater rapidity.

SOCIETY naturally results from population, and government is a part of the social state. From considering the few wants that men have, in proportion to the resources that nature affords them; the little assistance and happiness they find in the civil state, in comparison of the pains and evils they accumulate in it; their instinct for independence and liberty, common to them with all other living beings; together with a number of reasons drawn from their natural construction: from considering all these things, it has been doubted, whether sociability was so natural to mankind as it has generally been thought to be.

BUT on the other hand, the helplessness and duration of man's infancy; the nakedness of his body not covered either with hair or feathers; the tendency of his mind to perfection, the necessary consequence of the length of his life; maternal fondness which is increased by cares and fatigues, which after it has carried the child in the womb for nine months, suckles it and bears it in its arms

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arms for whole years ; the reciprocal attachment arising from this habit between two beings that relieve and caress each other ; the numerous marks of intercourse in an organization, that adds to the accents of the voice, common to so many animals, the language of the fingers and of gestures that are peculiar to the human race ; natural events which in a hundred different ways may bring together, or re-unite wandering and free individuals ; accidents and unforeseen wants which oblige them to meet for the purposes of hunting, fishing, or even of defence ; in a word, the example of so many creatures that live in herds, such as amphibious animals and sea monsters, flights of cranes and other birds, even insects that are found in columns and in swarms : all these facts and reasonings seem to prove, that man by his nature tends to sociability, and that he reaches that end so much the more speedily, as he cannot populate much under the torrid zone, without being collected into wandering or sedentary tribes, nor spread himself much under the other zones, without associating with his fellow-creatures, for the prey and the spoils which the wants of food and clothing require.

FROM the necessity of association, arises that of establishing laws relative to the social state: that is to say, of forming by a combination of all common and particular instincts, one general combination, that shall maintain the collective body and the majority of individuals. For if nature directs man to his fellow-creature, it is undoubtedly by a consequence of that universal attraction, which tends to the reproduction and preservation of the species. All the propensities which man brings with him into society, and all the impressions he receives in it, ought to be subordinate to this first impulse. To live and to propagate, being the destination of every living

living species, it should seem that sociability, if it be not of the first principles of man, should concur in assisting this double end of nature; and that instinct which leads him to the solid state, should necessarily direct all moral and political laws, so as that they should be more durable, and contribute more to the happiness of the majority of mankind. Nevertheless, if we consider merely the effect, we should think that the principle or supreme law of all society has been to *secure the reigning power*. Whence can arise this singular contrast between the end and the means, between the laws of nature and those of politics? The following is the only answer that occurs to this question. It is chance that first lays the plan of government, and reason that improves them. Upon this principle, let us examine the nature of the governments that have brought Europe to its present state of policy.

ALL the foundations of a society existing are lost by some catastrophe, or natural revolution. In all parts we see men driven away by subterraneous fires, or by war; by inundations, or by devouring insects; by dearth, or by famine; and joining again in some uninhabited corner of the earth, or dispersing and spreading themselves in places already peopled. Police always begins by plunder, and order arises from anarchy.

THE Hebrews, who were forced by the plagues of Egypt to remove into Arabia Petræa, were, at least, forty years in forming themselves into a body of troops, before they proceeded to ravage Palestine, in order to establish themselves there as a nation.

THE states of Greece were founded by plunderers, who destroyed some monsters, and a great number of men in order to become kings.

ROME, it is said, was formed from the remaining people escaped from the flames of Troy, or was nothing more

more than a set of banditti from Greece and Italy: but from this scum of the human race, arose a generation of heroes.

WAR, which, of the great nations of Europe, had only formed the Roman empire, made these very Romans who were so numerous become barbarians again. As the dispositions and manners of the conquering people are almost always impressed upon the conquered, those who had been enlightened with the knowledge of Rome in its learned state, now sank again into the blindness of stupid and ferocious Scythians. During ages of ignorance, when superior strength always gave the law, and chance or hunger had opened the regions of the south to the forces of the north, the continual succession of various emigrations prevented the laws from being settled in any place. As a multitude of small nations had destroyed a large one, many chiefs or tyrants divided each vast monarchy into several tenures. The people, who gained nothing by the government of one, or of several men, were always oppressed and trampled upon in this division of feudal anarchy. Little wars were continually kept up between neighbouring towns, instead of those great wars that now prevail between nations.

THIS continual ferment, however, induced all nations to establish themselves in a kind of form, or consistence. Kings were desirous of raising themselves upon the ruins of those men, or of those powerful bodies, by whom the commotions were kept up; and to effect this, they had recourse to the assistance of the people. They were civilized, polished, and more rational laws were given them than they had hitherto had. Slavery had depressed their natural vigour, and property restored it again; and commerce which prevailed after the discovery of the new world,

world, increased all their powers, by exciting universal emulation. BOOK
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To these general agitations another was added. The monarchs could not have increased their own power, without lessening that of the clergy, and without encouraging or preparing the way for the discredit of religious opinions. All innovators who ventured to attack the church, were supported by the throne. From that time, the human understanding was strengthened by exerting itself against the phantoms of imagination, and recovering the path of nature and of reason, discovered the true principle of government. Luther and Columbus appeared; the whole universe trembled, and all Europe was in commotion: but this storm cleared up its horizon for ages to come. One of these persons awakened the understandings of all men, the other, excited their activity. Since they have opened all the paths of industry and freedom, most of the European nations labour with some success in correcting or improving legislation, upon which the felicity of mankind depends.

NEVERTHELESS this enlightened spirit has not yet reached the Turks. They have ever preserved a faithful attachment to the maxims of Asiatic despotism. The scimitar, at Constantinople, is still the interpreter of the Coran. Though the Grand Signior may not be seen coming in and going out of the Seraglio, like the tyrant of Morocco, with a bloody head in his hand, yet a numerous body of satellites is engaged in the achievement of these horrid murders. The people massacred by their ruler, assassinate the executioner in their turn; but satisfied with this temporary vengeance, they think not of providing for their safety in future, or for the happiness of their posterity. It is too much trouble for orientalists to endeavour to assure the public safety

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by laws, which it is a laborious task to form, to settle, and to preserve. If their tyrants carry their oppressions or cruelties too far, the head of the vizir is demanded, that of the despot is struck off, and thus all is set to rights. The janissaries make use of no other remonstrance. Even the most powerful men in the kingdom are strangers to the first idea of the rights of nations. As personal safety in Turkey belongs only to people of a mean and abject condition, the chief families pride themselves in the very danger they are exposed to from the government. A Bashaw will tell you, that such a man as he is, is not destined, like an obscure person, to finish his days quietly in his bed. One may frequently see widows, whose husbands have been just strangled, exulting that they have been destroyed in a manner suitable to their rank.

THE Russians and Danes do not entertain the same prejudices, though they are subject to a power equally arbitrary; because these nations have the advantage of a more tolerable administration, and of some written laws. They can venture to think, or even to say that their government is limited, but they have never been able to persuade any sensible man that it was. While the sovereign makes and annuls the laws, extends or restrains them, and permits or suspends the execution of them at pleasure; while the indulgence of his passions is the only rule of his conduct; while he is the only, the central being to whom every thing tends; while nothing is either right or wrong but what he makes so; while his caprice is the law, and his favour the standard of public esteem; if this is not despotism, what other kind of government can it possibly be?

IN such a state of degradation, what are men? They hardly dare turn their constrained looks up to the skies. They want both knowledge to discern their chains, and spirit

Spirit to feel the shame of them. The powers of their minds extinguished by the oppressions of slavery, have not sufficient force to seize upon the rights inseparable from their existence. It may be a matter of doubt whether these slaves are not as culpable as their tyrants; and whether the spirit of liberty has more reason to complain of the insolence of those who infringe upon her rights, than of the imbecility of others, who know not how to defend them.

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YET many people will assert that the most happy form of government would be that of a just and enlightened despotic prince. The absurdity of this is evident; for it might easily happen that the will of this absolute monarch might be in direct opposition to the will of his subjects. In that case, notwithstanding all his justice and all his abilities, he would be in the wrong to deprive them of their rights, even though it were for their own benefit. No man whatsoever, let him be who he will, is entitled to treat his fellow-creatures like so many beasts. Beasts may be compelled to leave a bad pasture, and driven into a richer; but the same kind of compulsion used with a set of men would be an act of tyranny. If they should say, that they are very well where they are, or even if they should agree in saying that their situation is a bad one, but that it is their will and pleasure to stay in it, we may endeavour to teach them, to undeceive them, and to bring them to sounder notions by the means of persuasion, but never by those of compulsion. The best of princes, who should even have done good, against the general consent of his people, would be culpable, if it were only because he had gone beyond his right. He would be culpable not only for the time, but even with regard to posterity: for though he may be just and enlightened, yet his successor without inheriting either his abilities or his virtues,

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will certainly inherit his authority, of which the nation will become the victim. Let not, therefore, these pretended masters of the people be allowed even to do good against the general consent. Let it be considered that the condition of these rulers is not in the least different from that of the cacique, who being asked whether he had any slaves, answered; *Slaves? I know but one slave in all my district, and that is myself.*

BETWEEN Russia and Denmark, Sweden is situated. Let us examine the history of its constitution, and endeavour if possible to find out the nature of it.

NATIONS that are poor are almost necessarily war-like; because their very poverty, the burden of which is perpetually grievous to them, inspires them sooner or later with a desire of getting rid of it; and this desire, in process of time, becomes the general spirit of the nation, and the spring of the government.

It only requires a succession of sovereigns fortunate in war, to change suddenly the government of such a country from the state of a mild monarchy, to that of the most absolute despotism. The monarch proud of his triumphs thinks every thing may be allowed him, begins to acknowledge no law but his will; and his soldiers whom he hath led so often to victory, being ready to serve him in all things and against all men, become by their attachment to the prince the terror of their fellow-citizens. The people, on the other hand, will not venture to refuse chains that are offered to them by him, who, to the authority of his rank joins that which he holds from their admiration and gratitude.

THE yoke imposed by the monarch who has conquered the enemies of the state, is certainly burthen-some; but the subjects dare not shake it off. It even grows heavier under successors who have not the same claim

claim to their indulgence. Whenever any considerable reverse of fortune takes place, the despot will be left to the mercy of his people. Then, the people irritated by their long sufferings, seldom fail to avail themselves of the opportunity of recovering their rights. But as they have neither views nor plans, they change instantaneously from a state of slavery to that of anarchy. In the midst of this general tumult one exclamation only is heard, and that is liberty. But as they know not how to secure to themselves this inestimable benefit; the nation becomes immediately divided into various factions, which are guided by different interests.

If there be one among these factions, that despairs of prevailing over the rest, that faction separates itself unmindful of the general good; and being more anxious to prejudice its rivals than to serve its country, it takes the part of the sovereign. From that moment there are but two parties in the state, distinguished by two different names, which, whatever they be, never mean any thing more than royalists and antiroyalists. This is the period of great commotions and conspiracies.

THE neighbouring powers then act the same part they have ever acted at all times and in all countries upon similar occasions. They foment jealousies between the people and their prince; they suggest to the subjects every possible method of debasing, degrading and annihilating the sovereignty; they corrupt even those who are nearest the throne; they occasion some administration to be adopted prejudicial both to the whole body of the nation, which they impoverish under pretence of exerting themselves for their liberty; and injurious to the sovereign, whose prerogative they reduce to nothing.

THEN the monarch meets with as many authorities opposed to his, as there are ranks in the state. Then,

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his will is nothing without their concurrence. Then, he must call meetings, propose and debate upon things of the least importance. Then, tutors are given to him as to an ignorant scholar; and he may be assured that those tutors are men very ill-disposed towards him.

BUT what is then the state of the nation? The neighbouring powers have now, by their influence, thrown every thing into confusion; they have overturned the state, or seduced all the members of it, by bribery or intrigues. There is now, but one party in the kingdom, and that is the party of the stranger. The members of the factions are all pretenders. Attachment to the king is an hypocrisy, and aversion for monarchy another. They are two different marks of ambition and avarice. The whole nation is now a collection of infamous and venal men.

It is not difficult to conceive what must happen after this. The foreign powers that had corrupted the nation must be deceived in their expectations. They did not perceive that they carried matters too far; that, perhaps, they might even have been acting in a manner very different from that which a deeper policy would have suggested; that they were destroying the power of the nation, while their efforts only kept that of the sovereign in subjection; that this power of the monarch, which might one day exert itself with all its force, would meet with no resistance capable of checking it; and that this unexpected effect might be brought about in an instant, and by one man.

THAT instant is come; that man has appeared: and all these base creatures of adverse powers prostrated themselves before him. He told these men, who thought themselves all powerful, that they were nothing. He told them, I am your master; and they declared unanimously that he was. He told them: these

are the conditions to which I would have you submit ; and they answered, we agree to them. Scarce one dissenting voice was heard amongst them. It is impossible for any man to know what will be the consequence of this revolution. If the master will avail himself of the circumstances, Sweden will not have been governed by a more absolute monarch. If he is prudent ; if he understands that an unlimited sovereign can have no subjects, because he can have no persons under him possessed of property ; and that authority can only be exerted over those who have some kind of property ; the nation may, perhaps, recover its original character. Whatever may be his designs or his inclinations, Sweden cannot possibly be more unhappy than she was before.

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POLAND, which has none but slaves within, and, therefore, deserves to meet with none but oppressors from without ; still preserves, however, the shadow and the name of liberty. This kingdom is still, at present, no better than all the European states were ten centuries ago, subject to an aristocracy, which elects a king, in order to make him subservient to their will. Each nobleman, by virtue of his feudal tenure, which he preserves with his sword, as his ancestors acquired it, holds a personal and hereditary authority over his vassals. The feudal government prevails there in all the force of its primitive institution. It is an empire composed of as many states as there are lands. All the laws are settled there, and all resolutions taken not by the majority, but by the unanimity of the suffrages. Upon false notions of right and perfection, it has been supposed that a law was just only as it was adopted with unanimous consent ; because it has undoubtedly been thought, that what was right would both be perceived and put in practice by all ; two things that are impossible in a na-

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tional assembly. But can we even ascribe such pure intentions to a set of tyrants? For this constitution, which boasts the title of a republic, and prophanes it, is no more than a league of petty despots against the people. There, every one has power to prevent, and no one has power to act. There, the will of each individual may be in opposition to the general wishes; and there only, a fool, a wicked man, and a madman is sure to prevail over a whole nation.

AND, indeed, this government has never prospered; and Poland, that enjoys the privilege of electing its kings merely from the jealousy of its nobles, has been only indebted to the jealousy of its neighbours, for not having an hereditary despot in the family of a foreign conqueror.

IT was reserved to our days, to see this state torn in pieces by three rival powers, which have appropriated to themselves those of its provinces that lay most convenient for them. May this crime of ambition turn out to the advantage of mankind; and by a glorious action of benevolence, may the usurpers break the chains of the most laborious part of their new people! Their subjects will be more faithful, by being more free; and being no longer slaves, will become men.

In a monarchy, all the forces, and the wills of all, are at the disposal of one single man; in the government of Germany, each member is a body. This is, perhaps, the nation that resembles most what it formerly was. The ancient Germans, divided into colonies by immense forests, had no occasion for a very refined legislation. But in proportion as their descendents have multiplied and come nearer each other, art has kept up in this country what nature had established: the separation of the people and their political union. The small states that compose this confederate republic, preserve the

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stamp of the first families. Each particular government is not always paternal, or the fathers of the nations are not always mild and humane. But still reason and liberty, with which all the chiefs are united, softens the severity of their dispositions, and the rigour of their authority: a prince in Germany cannot be a tyrant with the same impunity as in large monarchies.

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THE Germans, who are rather warriors, than a warlike people, because they are rather proficient in the art of war, than addicted to it from inclination, have been conquered but once; and it was Charlemagne who conquered, but could not reduce them to subjection. They obeyed the man, who by talents superior to the age he lived in, had subdued and enlightened its barbarism; but they shook off the yoke of his successors. Nevertheless they preserved the title of emperor to their chief; but it was merely a name, since the real power resided almost entirely in the barons that possessed the lands. The people, who unfortunately have always been every where enslaved, spoiled, kept in misery by ignorance, and in ignorance by misery, had not the least share in the advantages of the legislation. From this destruction of social equilibrium, which does not tend to reduce all conditions and fortunes to the same standard, but to the more extensive division of riches, the feudal government was formed, the characteristic of which is anarchy. Each nobleman lived in a total independence, and each people under the most absolute tyranny. This was the unavoidable consequence of a government, where the crown was elective. In those states where it was hereditary, the people had, at least, a bulwark and a permanent refuge against oppression. The regal authority could not extend itself, without alleviating for some time the fate of the vassals, by diminishing the power of the nobles.

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BUT in Germany, where the nobles take advantage of each interregnum to invade or restrain the rights of the imperial power, the government could not but degenerate. Strength decided every thing between those who wore the sword. Lands and men were only the instruments, or the subjects of war between the proprietors. Crimes were the support of injustice. Rapine, murder, and conflagrations not only became customary, but even lawful. Superstition, which had consecrated tyranny, was obliged to put a stop to it. The church, which furnished an asylum to all the plunderers, settled a truce between them. Recourse was had to the protection of the saints, to avoid the fury of the nobles. The ashes of the dead were only sufficient to stop the ferociousness of these people; so frightful is death, even to men of cruel and savage dispositions.

WHEN the minds of men still in a state of commotion, were disposed to become calm through fear; policy, which avails itself equally of reason and the passions, of ignorance and understanding, in ruling over mankind, attempted to throw the government into a better form. On the one hand, several inhabitants in the countries were enfranchised; and on the other, exemptions were granted in favour of the cities. There were a number of men in all parts who enjoyed freedom. The emperors, who to secure their election even among ignorant and ferocious princes, were obliged to disclose some abilities and some virtues, prepared the way for the reformation of the legislation.

MAXIMILIAN took advantage of all the seeds of happiness that were sown in his age by time and by the events. He demolished the anarchy of the great. In France and Spain, they had been made subject to regal authority; in Germany, the emperors made them subject

to the laws. Under the pretence of the public tranquillity, every prince may be brought to justice. It is true, that these laws established among lions do not save the lambs: and the people are still at the mercy of their rulers, who are only bound one towards another. But as public tranquillity cannot be violated, nor war commenced, without being amenable to a tribunal that is always open, and supported by all the forces of the empire, the people are less exposed to those sudden irruptions, and unforeseen hostilities, which threatening the property of the sovereigns, continually endangered the lives and safety of the subjects. War, which formerly constituted right, is now subject to conditions that moderate its fury. The cries of humanity are heard even in the midst of carnage. It is to Germany that Europe owes the improvement of the legislation in all states; regularity and proceedings even in the revenge of nations; a certain equity even in the abuse of power; moderation in the midst of victory; a check to the ambition of all potentates; in short, fresh obstacles to war, and fresh encouragements to peace.

THIS happy constitution of the German empire, has improved with the progress of reason since the reign of Maximilian. Nevertheless the Germans themselves complain, that although they form a national body, distinguished by the same name, speaking the same language, living under the same chief, enjoying the same privileges, and connected by the same interests, yet their empire has not the advantage of that tranquillity, that power and consideration it ought to have.

THE causes of this misfortune are obvious. The first, is the obscurity of the laws. The writings upon the *jus publicum* of Germany are numberless; and there are but few Germans who are versed in the constitution of their country. All the members of the empire now send
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their representatives to the national assembly, whereas they formerly sat there themselves. The military turn, which is become universal, has precluded all application to business, every generous sentiment of patriotism, and all attachment to fellow-citizens. There is not one of the princes who has not settled his court too magnificently for his income, and who does not authorize the most flagrant oppressions to support this ridiculous pomp. In short, nothing contributes more to the decay of the empire, than the inordinate aggrandizement of some of its members. The sovereigns become too powerful, separate their private interests from the general good. This reciprocal disunion among the states, is the reason, that in dangers that are common to all, each province is left to shift for itself. It is obliged to bend to the strongest, whoever he may be; and thus the Germanic constitution degenerates insensibly into slavery or tyranny.

ENGLAND owes its national genius to its geographical position, and its government to its national character. It was invited by nature to the sea, to commerce, and to liberty. This idol of men of strong minds, which renders them ferocious in a savage state, and proud in a civilized one; this spirit of liberty always reigned in the breasts of the English, even when they were ignorant of its rights and advantages.

THIS was the nation that first discovered the injustice and insignificancy of ecclesiastical power, the limits of regal authority, and the abuses of the feudal government. This was the nation that was the first to revolt and throw off this triple load of oppression. Until the reign of Henry the eighth, they had fought only for the choice of their tyrants; but at length, in chusing them, they paved the way for abolishing, punishing or expelling them.

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NEVERTHELESS the kings of England thought themselves absolute, because all those of the rest of Europe were so. The title of monarch deceived James the first; he annexed unlimited authority to it. He discovered this idea with so much frankness, such blind simplicity, that he did not even distrust his own pretensions, sufficiently, to induce him to support them previously by force. His courtiers and his clergy encouraged him in this flattering illusion, which he persevered in to the end. He died full of self-estimation, and despised by his people; who knew the weakness of that monarch, and valued their own strength.

THE English, to put an end to the spirit of revenge and mistrust, which would have been perpetuated between the crown and the people after the tragical end of Charles the first, chose, from a foreign race, a prince who was at length obliged to accept of that social compact, which all hereditary kings affect to be ignorant of. William the third received the crown with conditions, and contented himself with an authority established upon the same basis as the rights of the people.

UNDER the reigns of the Stuarts, power and liberty had been in perpetual contest, between the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the people. Since a parliamentary or national title is become the sole right of kings, whatever faction disturbs the people, the force of the constitution prevails always in their favour.

THE government is formed between absolute monarchy, which is a tyranny; democracy, which leads towards anarchy; and aristocracy, which fluctuating between one and the other, falls into the errors of both. The mixt government of the English, combining the advantages of these three powers, which mutually observe, moderate, assist, and restrain each other, tends of itself to the national good. This constitution, of which

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which there is no instance among the ancients, and which ought to serve as a model to posterity, will support itself a long time; because it is not the result of manners, and of transient opinions; but of reasoning and experience.

YET the people are with reason alarmed about the duration of so good a government. Encroachments of the crown are not apprehended. The share the king holds in the legislation is too trifling, to prevail over the two houses of parliament. His right of refusal or consent is at present a mere matter of form. His greatest strength is in the executive power, which is solely vested in him. But as he hath only the right and exercise of this power, without having the instruments and the means, he cannot avail himself of it. If he were once to abuse it, he would run the risque of losing it for ever. The money comes from the taxes, and the taxes are imposed by parliament. The people supply the prince with subsidies, and he gives them an account of them. Hence, the parliament, under whose inspection the revenues and the expences pass, is the real legislator. It is the parliament that levies the taxes, and determines how they shall be employed. But although the prince is in this respect dependent on the commons, yet he hath still a great ascendent over them, by the power of dispensing favours.

IN monarchies, kings are bribed; in England, they bribe. A philosophical and political writer, well acquainted with the constitution of his country, asserts that this bribery is necessary, to check the tendency of the government to democracy; and that the people would become too powerful, if the king did not buy off the commons.

ON the other hand, if the prince were to raise the richer members of the commons to the highest dignities, by creating peers at pleasure, he would make the govern-
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ment lean to aristocracy. But as the dignity of peerage cannot be lavished without degrading it, and that besides the riches will always circulate most among the commercial part of the nation, it will scarce happen that riches and dignities will be accumulated and united in a few individuals; murmurs, troubles, and even seditions will arise for the security of the people before such a misfortune can take place. The interest of the collective body in the house of commons is restrained by the interest of each individual. The king is not rich enough to bribe them all; he cannot openly buy them off without dishonouring them, nor enslave them without irritating the people. There will always be some Demagogues; and the nation stands in need of them to watch, to accuse, and even to keep the parliament in awe.

BUT, if the enjoyments of luxury should happen totally to pervert the morals of the nation; if the love of pleasure should soften the courage of the commanders and officers of the fleets and armies; if the intoxication of temporary successes; if vain ideas of false greatness should excite the nation to enterprizes above their strength; if they should be deceived in the choice of their enemies, or their allies; if they should lose their colonies, either by making them too extensive, or by laying restraints upon them; if their love of patriotism were not exalted to the love of humanity: they would sooner or later be enslaved, and return to that kind of insignificancy from whence they emerged only through torrents of blood, and through the calamities of two ages of fanaticism and war. They would become like other nations whom they despise, and Europe could not shew the universe one nation in which she could venture to pride herself. Despotism, which always oppresses most heavily minds that are subdued and degraded,

degraded, would alone raise its head, amidst the ruin of the arts, of morals, of reason, and of liberty.

THE history of the united provinces is replete with great singularities. Their combination was formed by despair, and almost all Europe encouraged their establishment. They had but just triumphed over the long and powerful efforts of the court of Spain to reduce them to subjection, when they were obliged to try their strength against the Bretons, and disconcerted the schemes of France. They afterwards gave a king to England, and deprived Spain of the provinces she possessed in Italy and the Low Countries, to give them to Austria. Since that period, Holland has been disgusted of military politics; and is solely employed in her preservation; which, however, she attends to, perhaps, with too little earnestness, precaution and virtue.

THE constitution of Holland, though traced out before hand upon a studied plan, is not less defective than those that have been formed by chance. The seven provinces compose a kind of heptarchy, the members of which are too independent of each other. In the republic, each province is supreme; in the provinces, the cities are not subject. Alliances, peace, war, subsidies; nothing is done but by the states-general; and these again can do nothing without the consent of the provincial states, nor these without the determination of the cities. A sovereignty too much dispersed; this is the first fault of the constitution: unanimity of suffrages, a second; an equal number of votes, the third. Without any regard to the difference of population and size, the province of Holland has not more votes than that of Over-Yssel, though it bears twenty times a greater share in the public expences. The suffrage of Amsterdam carries no more weight with it, than that of

of the most petty town: which is a perpetual source of discord. If the obstinacy of one single province breaks the union, there is no legal mediator to restore it: for the stadtholder is not one.

THIS magistrate, whose business it is to terminate religious disputes, has on that account a dangerous influence, because he may involve all affairs of religion with those of state, and all affairs of state with those of religion. Authorised as he is to determine upon the articles of the treaty of union, whenever there is a schism or division, the power he has of putting an end to discord makes it easy for him to foment it; and opens a vast field to his ambition.

THESE fears occasioned the suppression of the stadtholder's power towards the middle of the last century. But those who overthrew this phantom of tyranny, were insensibly proceeding to the establishment of real tyranny, by changing the democracy into an oligarchy. From that time, the burghers of each town lost the privileges of liberty, with the right of electing their magistrates and forming their senate. The burgomasters chose their officers and seized upon the finances, of which they gave no account but to their equals or their dependents. The senators arrogated to themselves the right of completing their own body. Thus the magistracy was confined within a few families, who assumed an almost exclusive right of deputation to the states-general. Each province and each town were at the disposal of a small number of citizens, who, dividing the rights and the spoils of the people, had the art of eluding their complaints, or of preventing the rage of their discontent.

THESE encroachments occasioned the restoration of the stadtholder's power in the house of Orange, and it has been made hereditary, even to the women. But a stadtholder is nothing more than a captain-general.

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This magistrate, however, in order to be useful to the republic, ought to belong totally to the state. If he had as much influence in the general assembly, as he has in the military council, he would have no other interests than those of his country; and would be as indifferent for war as for peace.

BUT, perhaps, it may be apprehended, that if the civil power should be united to the military force in the stadtholder, this dignity might one day become an instrument of oppression. Rome is always quoted as an example to all our free states, that have no circumstance in common with it. If the dictator became the oppressor of that republic, it was for these reasons: that the republic had oppressed all other nations; that its power was to be destroyed by the sword that had founded it; and that a nation, composed of soldiers, could not escape the despotism of a military government. It is scarce credible, but no less certain, that the Roman republic submitted to the yoke, because it paid no taxes. The conquered people were the only tributaries to the treasury. The public revenues, therefore, necessarily remaining the same after the revolution as before, property did not appear to be attacked; and the citizen thought he should be still free enough, while he remained the master of his fortunes.

HOLLAND, on the contrary, will maintain its liberty, because it is subject to very considerable taxes. The Dutch cannot preserve their country but with great expences. The sense of their independence alone excites an industry proportionable to the load of their contributions, and to their patience in supporting the burthen of them. If to the enormous expences of the state, it were necessary to add those which the pomp of a court requires; if the prince were to employ in maintaining the
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agents of tyranny, what ought to be bestowed on the foundations of a land built upon the sea, he would soon drive the people to despair.

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AN inhabitant of Holland, placed upon a mountain, and observing from afar the sea rising eighteen or twenty feet above the level of the lands, who sees it advance with a roar against the dikes he has raised, considers, and thinks within himself, that sooner or later that boisterous element will get the better of him. He disdains so precarious a dwelling, and his house, made either of wood or stone at Amsterdam, is no longer considered as his house; it is his ship that is his asylum, and by degrees he acquires an indifference and manners conformable to this idea. The water is to him what the vicinity of volcanos is to other people.

IF to these natural causes of the decay of patriotic spirit were joined the loss of liberty, the Dutch would quit a country that cannot be cultivated but by men that are free; and this trading people would carry their spirit of commerce together with their riches to some other part of the globe. Their islands in Asia, their factories in Africa, their colonies in America, and all the parts of Europe would afford them an asylum. What stadtholder, what prince, revered by such a people, would wish, or dare, to become their tyrant?

THE French, with a different situation, have a different kind of government, which hath gone through an infinite number of vicissitudes. Ever attached to a king, because they were founded by a military commander, a warlike disposition preserved them for a long time from political slavery. That openness of courage; that abhorrence of all kind of meanness; that frankness which they held from the Germans, made them believe either that they were free, or that they ought to be so, even

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under the dominion of kings. Jealous of this idea they entertained of themselves; the nobility which composed almost all the nation, pretended to be independent, not only of the monarch, but even of their own body. Each nobleman formed, in the midst of the state, a kind of private republic of his own family and his vassals. France had then a military government, impossible to be defined, something between aristocracy and monarchy, having all the abuses of these two constitutions, without their real advantages. A perpetual contest between the kings and the nobles, an alternate preponderation of the power of one single person, or of several; such was the kind of anarchy that lasted, almost without interruption, to the middle of the fifteenth century.

THEN the character of the French was changed by a train of events that had changed the form of government. The war, which the English, combined with, or subject to the Normans, had incessantly carried on with this kingdom for two or three hundred years spread the alarm throughout, and occasioned great ravages. The triumphs of the enemy, the tyranny of the great, every thing made the nation wish that the prince should be invested with power sufficient to drive away the strangers, and to keep the nobles in subjection. While a set of wise and warlike kings were labouring at this great work, a new generation arose. Every individual, when the danger was past, thought himself happy enough in the privileges that had been left to his ancestors. They neglected to trace the origin of the power of kings, which was derived from the nation; and Lewis the XIth, without much effort, became more powerful than his predecessors.

BEFORE his time, the history of France presents a complication of states, sometimes divided, and sometimes

times united. Since that prince's reign, it is the history of a great monarchy. The authority of several tyrants is centered in one person. The people are not more free ; but the constitution is different. Peace enjoyed with greater security within, and war carried on with more vigour without.

CIVIL wars, which lead a free people to slavery, and an enslaved people to freedom, have no other effect in France than that of humbling the great, without exalting the people. The ministers, who will always be the creatures of the prince, while the nation has no influence in the administration, have all sold their fellow-citizens to their master ; and as the people, who had nothing, could not lose any thing by this servitude, the kings have found it the more easy to effect it, especially as it was always concealed under a pretence of policy and even of relief. The antipathy excited by a great inequality of conditions and fortunes, hath favoured all the schemes that tended to aggrandize the regal authority. The princes have had the art to engage the attention of the people, sometimes by wars abroad, sometimes by religious disputes at home ; to suffer the minds of men to be divided by opinions, and their hearts by different interests ; to excite and keep up jealousies between the several ranks of the state ; to flatter alternately each ambitious propensity with an appearance of favour, and to satisfy the natural envy of the people by the lowering of all ambition. The multitude, poor and despised, when they have seen all powerful bodies brought low one after another, have, at least, loved in their monarch the enemy of their enemies.

THE nation, however, though by inadvertency it has lost the privilege of governing itself, has not yet submitted to all the outrages of despotism. This is,

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because the loss of its liberty has not yet been the effect of a tumultuous and sudden revolution, but has been gradually brought about in a succession of several ages. The national character, which hath always exerted its influence on the minds of the princes, and at court, if even by the means of the women only, hath formed a sort of balance of power, which as it hath moderated by manners the action of force and the reaction of free-will, hath prevented those sudden and violent exertions, whence either monarchical tyranny, or popular liberty results.

INCONSISTENCE as natural to the minds of a gay and lively people, as it is to children, hath fortunately prevailed over the systems of some despotic ministers. Kings have been too fond of pleasure, and too conversant with the real source of it, not to be induced frequently to lay aside the iron scepter which would have frightened the people, and dissipated the frivolous amusements to which they were addicted. The spirit of intrigue which hath ever prevailed among them, since the great people were called to court, has also continually overset the men in office with their schemes. As the change in the government has been imperceptibly brought about, the subjects have preserved a kind of dignity, in which the monarch himself has seemed to respect the origin or the effect of his own. He has continued the supreme legislator for a long time, without being either willing or able to abuse all his power. Restrained by the name only of the fundamental laws of the nation, he has frequently been afraid to act contrary to the principles of them. He has been sensible that the people had their rights to oppose to him. In a word, there has been no tyrant, even at a time when there was no liberty.

SUCH, and still more absolute, have been the governments of Spain and Portugal, of Naples and Piedmont; and

and of the several small principalities of Italy. The people of the south, whether from inactivity of mind, or corporal weakness, seem to be born for despotism. The Spaniards with a great share of pride; and the Italians, notwithstanding all the powers of genius, have lost all their right and every trace of liberty. Wherever the monarchy is unlimited, it is impossible to ascertain exactly what the form of government is, since that varies not only with the character of each sovereign, but even at every period of the same prince's life. These states have all of them written laws; they have customs and societies that are privileged: but when the legislator can over turn the laws and tribunals; when his authority has no other basis than force, and when he calls upon God to make himself be feared, rather than beloved by imitating him; when the original right of society, when the unalienable right of property among citizens, when national conventions, and the engagements of the prince are called upon in vain; in a word, when the government is arbitrary, there is no longer any state; the nation is no more than the landed property of one single individual.

IN countries of this sort, no statesmen will ever be formed. Far from its being a duty to be informed of public affairs, it is rather criminal and dangerous to have any knowledge of the administration. The favour of the court, the choice of the prince, supply the place of talents. Not but that talents are useful; they are sometimes wanted to serve, but never to command. Thus, in these countries, the people suffer themselves to be governed, provided they are but allowed to sleep. There is only one system of legislation in these delightful regions of Europe, which merits our attention; and this is the republic of Venice.

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A great, magnificent and rich city, impregnable, though without walls or fortifications, rules over seventy two islands. They are not rocks and mountains raised by time in the midst of a vast sea; but rather a plain parcelled out and cut into channels by the stagnations of a small gulph, upon the slope of a low land. These islands separated by canals, are at present joined by bridges. They have been formed by the ravages of the sea, and peopled by the ravages of war towards the middle of the fifth century. The inhabitants of Italy flying from Attila, sought an asylum in the element of storms.

THE Venetian lagunes at first made neither a part of the same city, nor the same republic. United by one commercial interest, or rather by the necessity of defending themselves, they were, however, divided into as many separate governments as islands, each subject to its respective tribune.

FROM the plurality of chiefs contentions arose, and the destruction of the public good. These people, therefore, in order to make but one body, chose a prince, who under the title of duke or doge, enjoyed for a long time all the rights of sovereignty, of which he only now retains the symbols. These doges were elected by the people till 1173, when the nobles seizing upon the whole authority of the republic, named its chiefs.

THE government of Venice would be the best of all governments, if an aristocracy were not, perhaps, the worst. The several branches of power are divided there among the nobles, and balanced with an admirable equilibrium. The great reign there undisturbed with a kind of equality, as the stars shine in the firmament during the silence of the night. The people enjoy this sight, and are contented with their subsistence and amusements. The distinction between plebeians and patricians is less odious

odious than in any other republics; because the laws are particularly directed to suppress and destroy the ambition of the nobles. Besides, as the prosperity of Venice was founded upon its commerce, the people might console themselves for the loss of power, by the hopes of riches, which they might acquire by industry and labour.

THE emulation excited by opulence among this maritime people, enabled them to maintain powerful armies; and the spirit of patriotism which is natural to republics, supplied them with soldiers. The variety of information resulting from the government of many, made them excel all other people in politics. They learned the art of forming, and destroying leagues, and of maintaining their ground against the most formidable powers. But since the decay of their commerce hath lessened their activity abroad, and their vigour within, the republic of Venice is fallen into a state of pusillanimous circumspection. They have assumed and improved upon that jealousy and mistrust which is the national character of all Italy. With one half of the treasures and care they have bestowed since the neutrality they have observed for two centuries, they would have freed themselves from the dangers to which their very precautions have exposed them. Their chief confidence is in an inquisitor, who is continually prying among individuals, with the axe raised against any one who shall dare to speak good or evil of administration. The great crime is either the censure or approbation of government. The senator of Venice, concealed behind a grate, says to the subject: *Who art thou that dar'st to approve our conduct!* A curtain raises, and the poor trembling Venetian beholds a carcase tied to a gallows, and hears a terrible voice that calls out to him from behind the grate: *It is thus we treat those who presume to apologize for us; go home and be silent.* The
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republic of Venice still supports itself by its cunning; there is another in Europe which supports itself by its courage: this is the republic of Switzerland.

THE Switzers, known in antiquity by the name of Helvetians, were not to be subdued any more than the Gauls and the Britons, but by Cæsar, who was the greatest of the Romans, if he had been more attached to his country. They were united to Germany, as a Roman province, under the reign of Honorius. Revolutions which are frequent and easily accomplished in such a country as the Alps, divided colonies that were separated by large lakes or great mountains, into several baronies. The most considerable of these, occupied by the house of Austria, at length seized upon all the rest. Conquest brought on slavery; oppression occasioned revolt; and liberty sprang up from the excess of tyranny.

THERE are now thirteen cantons of robust peasants, who defend almost all the kings of Europe and fear none; who are better acquainted with the real interests than any other nation; and who constitute the most sensible people in all modern political states. These thirteen cantons compose among themselves, not a republic as the seven provinces of Holland, nor a simple confederacy as the Germanic body, but rather a league, a natural association of so many independent republics. Each canton hath its respective sovereignty, its alliances and its treaties separate. The general diet cannot make laws or regulations for either of them.

THE three most ancient are immediately connected with each of the other twelve. It is from this union of convenience not of constitution, that if one of the thirteen cantons were attacked, all the rest would march to its assistance. But there is no common alliance between all and each of them. Thus the branches of a tree are united

united among themselves, without having any immediate connection with the common trunk.

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THE union of the Switzers was, however, indissoluble till the beginning of the 16th century; when religion, which should be the bond of peace and charity, disunited them. The reformation disjointed the Helvetic body, and the state was divided by the church. All public affairs are transacted in the separate and particular diets of the catholic and protestant parties. The general diets are assembled only to preserve the appearance of union. Notwithstanding this seed of discord, Switzerland has enjoyed peace much more than any state in Europe.

UNDER the Austrian government, oppression and the levying of militia, impeded population. After the revolution, population increased too much in proportion to the barrenness of the land. The Helvetic body could not be enlarged without bursting, unless it made some excursions abroad. The inhabitants of these mountains, as the torrents that pour down from them, were to spread themselves in the plains that border upon the Alps. These people would have destroyed each other, had they remained sequestered among themselves. But ignorance of the arts, the want of materials for manufactures, the deficiency of money to attract the importation of provisions, excluded them from the means of procuring the comforts of life and of encouraging industry. They drew even from their increase of numbers a method of subsisting and acquiring riches, a source and an object of trade.

THE duke of Milan, master of a rich country open on all sides to invasion, and not easily defended, was in want of soldiers. The Switzers, who were his most powerful neighbours, must necessarily become his enemies, if they were not his allies, or rather his protectors.

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A kind of traffic was, therefore, set on foot between these people and the Milanese, in which strength was bartered for riches. The nation engaged troops successively in the service of France, of the emperor, of the pope, of the duke of Savoy, and all the potentates of Italy. They sold their blood to the most distant powers, and to the nations most in enmity with each other; to Holland, to Spain and to Portugal; as if these mountains were nothing more than a repository of arms and soldiers, open to every one who wanted to purchase the instruments of war.

EACH canton treats with that power which offers the best terms. The subjects of the country are at liberty to engage in war at a distance, with any allied nation. The Hollander is by the constitution of his country a citizen of the world; the Switzer by the same circumstance a destroyer of Europe. The profits of Holland are in proportion to the degree of cultivation, and the consummation of merchandise; the more battles and the more carnage there is, the greater is the prosperity of Switzerland.

It is by war, that the calamity is inseparable from mankind, whether in savage or civilized states, that the republics of the Helvetic body are forced to live and subsist. It is by this that they keep a number of inhabitants within proportion to the extent and fertility of their lands, without forcing any of the springs of government, or restraining the inclinations of any individual. It is by the traffic of troops with the belligerent powers, that Switzerland has been preserved from the necessity of sudden emigrations which are the cause of invasions, and from that of attempting conquests which would have occasioned the loss of the liberty of these republics, as it ruined all the republics of Greece.

If we now take a review of what has been said, we shall find that all the governments of Europe are comprehended under some of the forms we have been describing, and are differently modelled according to the local situation, the degree of population, the extent of territory, the influence of opinions and occupations, and the external connections and variety of events that act upon the organisation of the body politic, as the impression of surrounding fluids act upon natural bodies.

WE are not to imagine, as it is often asserted, that all governments are nearly alike, with no other difference than the character of the men who govern. This maxim may, perhaps, be verified in absolute governments, among nations who have not any kind of free-will. These take the turn the prince gives them: they are haughty, proud and courageous, under a monarch that is active and fond of glory: indolent and melancholy under a superstitious king: full of hopes and fears under a young prince; of weakness and corruption under an old despot; or rather alternately confident and weak under the several ministers raised by intrigue. In such states, the government takes the character of the administration: but in free states, it is just the reverse.

WHATEVER may be said of the nature and springs of the constitutions by which men are governed, the art of legislation being that which requires the highest perfection, is also the most proper to employ men of the first genius. The science of government does not contain abstracted truths, or rather it has not one single principle which does not extend to all the branches of administration.

THE state is a very complicated machine, which cannot be wound up or set a going without a thorough knowledge of all its component parts. One of them cannot be drawn too tight or left too loose but that the whole machine

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machine must be in disorder. Every project that may be beneficial to a certain number of citizens or in critical times, may become fatal to the whole nation, and prejudicial for a long continuance. If we destroy or change the nature of any great body, those convulsive motions which are called strokes of state, will disturb the whole nation, which may, perhaps, feel the effects for ages to come. All innovations ought to be brought about insensibly, they should arise from necessity, be excited by a sort of public clamour, or at least agree with the general wishes. To abolish or to create on a sudden, is to increase evil and to spoil the good. To act without consulting the will of the generality, without collecting as it were the plurality of votes in the public opinion, is to alienate the hearts and minds of men, and to bring every thing into discredit, even what is honest and good.

It would be a desirable thing in Europe, that the sovereigns convinced of the necessity of improving the science of government, should imitate the Chinese establishment. In this empire, the ministers are distinguished into two classes, the *thinkers*, and the *signers*. While the last are employed in executing and expediting the affairs, the first have nothing to do but to form projects, or to examine such as are presented to them. This is the source of all those admirable regulations, which establish at China the most enlightened legislation, by the wisest administration. All Asia is under despotic government; but in Turkey and Persia, it is the despotism of opinion by religion; in China, it is the despotism of the laws by the influence of reason. Among the Mohammedans, they believe in the divine authority of the prince; among the Chinese, they believe in natural authority founded upon the law of reason. But in these empires, it is conviction that acts upon the will.

IN the happy state of policy and knowledge to which Europe has attained, it is plain that this conviction of the mind, which produces a free, easy and general obedience, can proceed from nothing but a certain evidence of the utility of the laws. If the governments would not pay *thinkers*, who might, perhaps, become suspicious or corrupt as soon as they were mercenary; let them, at least, allow men of superior understandings to watch in some measure over the public good. Every writer of genius is born a magistrate of his country; and he ought to enlighten it as much as it is in his power. His abilities give him a right to do it. Whether he be an obscure or a distinguished citizen, whatever be his rank or his birth, his mind, which is always noble, takes its claims from his talents. His tribunal is the whole nation; his judge is the public, not the despot who does not hear him, nor the minister who will not listen to him.

ALL these truths have, doubtless, their boundaries: but it is always more dangerous to stifle the freedom of thinking, than to leave it to its bent or impetuosity. Reason and truth triumph over the audacity of those violent minds, which are roused only by restraint, and irritated only by persecution. Kings and ministers, love your people, love mankind, and ye will be happy. Ye have then no reason to fear, either free or discontented minds, nor the revolt of bad men. The revolt of the heart is much more dangerous: for virtue when soured and roused into indignation, becomes atrocious. Cato and Brutus were both virtuous; they were reduced to the necessity of chusing, between too great acts of outrage, suicide, or the death of Cæsar.

THE interest of government and those of the nation are the same. Whoever attempts to divide them, is but ill-acquainted with them, and can only prejudice them.

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THERE may sometimes be discontented people under a good government; but where there are a great number of unhappy persons, without any advantage to the public prosperity, then the government is faulty in its nature.

MANKIND are just as we would have them to be; it is the mode of government which gives them a good or an evil propensity.

A state ought to have but one object in view; and that is, public felicity. Every state has its own mode of tending to this end; and this mode is its spirit, its principle, to which every thing else is subordinate.

A nation can have no industry for the arts, nor courage for war, without a confidence in and an attachment to the government. But whenever fear has broken all the other springs of the soul, a nation then becomes of no consequence, the prince is exposed to a thousand enterprises from without and a thousand dangers from within. Despised by his neighbours, and detested by his subjects, he hath reason to be in perpetual fear for the fate of his kingdom, and for his own life. It is a happiness for a nation, that commerce, arts and sciences should flourish. It is even a happiness for those who govern, when they are not inclined to tyrannize. Upright minds are very easily led; but none have a greater aversion for violence and slavery. Let good monarchs be blessed with enlightened people; and let tyrants have none but brutes to reign over.

DESPOTISM is both raised and abolished by military power. In its infancy it is a lion that conceals his talons, to let them grow. In its full vigour, it is a madman who tears his body with his arms. In its advanced age, it is Saturn, who, after having devoured his children, is shamefully mutilated by his own race.

GOVERNMENT may be divided into legislation and policy. Legislation acts within, and policy without. BOOK
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SAVAGE nations have rather a policy than a legislation. Governed among themselves by manners and example, the only conventions or laws they have, are between one nation and another. Treaties of peace or alliance are their only codes. Policy.

SUCH were nearly the societies of antient times. Separated by deserts, without any communication of trade or voyages, those people had only a present and immediate interest to settle. All their negotiations consisted in putting an end to a war by fixing the boundaries of a state. As the business was to persuade a nation, and not bribe a court by the mistresses or favourites of a prince, eloquent men were employed in it, and the names of orator and ambassador were synonymous.

IN the middle ages, when every thing, even justice itself was decided by force; when the Gothic government divided by interests all those petty states which owed their existence to its constitution; negotiations had but little influence over a wild and recluse people, who knew no right but that of war, no treaties but for truces, or ransoms.

DURING this long period of ignorance and barbarism, policy was entirely confined to the court of Rome. It had arisen from the artifices which had founded the papal government. As the pontiffs, by the laws of religion and the rules of the hierarchy, ruled over a very numerous clergy, which proselytes extended perpetually in all the christian states, the correspondence they kept up with the bishops, established early at Rome a centre of communication for all these churches, or nations. All rights were subordinate to a religion, which reigned exclusively over all minds; it had a share in almost every

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transaction, either as the motive or the means; and the popes by the Italian emissaries they had placed in the prelacies of Christendom, never failed of being informed of all the motions, and taking advantage of all events. They had the highest interest in this; that of attaining universal monarchy. The barbarism of the times in which this project was conceived, did not diminish its greatness and sublimity. How daring was the attempt, to subdue without troops nations that were always in arms! What art to make even the weaknesses of the clergy respectable and sacred! What skill to agitate, shake thrones one after the other, in order to keep them all in subjection! So deep, so extensive a design could not be put in execution, but as much as it was concealed; and, therefore, was inconsistent with an hereditary monarchy; in which the passions of kings and the intrigues of ministers, are the cause of so much instability in affairs. This project, and the general rule of conduct it requires, could not be formed but in an elective government, in which the chief is always chosen from a body animated with the same spirit, and imbued with the same maxims; in which an aristocratic court rather governs the prince, than suffers itself to be governed by him.

WHILE Italian policy was prying into all the states of Europe, and seizing all occasions, to aggrandize and confirm ecclesiastical power, each sovereign saw with indifference the revolutions that were taking place without. Most of them were too much engaged in establishing their authority in their own dominions, in disputing the branches of power with the several bodies that were in possession of them, or who were striving against the natural bent that monarchy has to despotism: they were not sufficiently masters of their own inheritance, to interfere in the affairs of their neighbours.

THE fifteenth century changed the order of things. When the princes had collected their forces, they were inclined to bring them to action. Till that time, the nations had only carried on war with each other upon their respective frontiers. The season of the campaign was wasted in assembling troops, which every baron always raised very slowly. There were then only skirmishes between parties, no regular battles between armies. When a prince either by alliances or inheritance had acquired domains in different states, the interests were confounded, and contentions arose among the people. It was necessary to send regular troops in the pay of the monarch, to defend at a distance possessions that did not belong to the state. The crown of England no longer held provinces in the heart of France; but that of Spain acquired some rights in Germany; and that of France laid claims in Italy. From that time all Europe was in a perpetual alternative of war and negotiation.

THE ambition, the talents, and the rivalry of Charles the fifth, and Francis the first, gave rise to the present system of modern politics. Before the times of these two kings, the nations of France and Spain had disputed the kingdom of Naples, in the name of the houses of Arragon and Anjou. Their dissensions had excited a ferment throughout all Italy, and the republic of Venice was the soul of that civil re-action against two foreign powers. The Germans took a part in these commotions, either as auxiliaries, or as being concerned in them. The emperor and the pope engaged in them with almost all Christendom. But Francis the first and Charles the fifth engaged in their fate, the views, the policy, the destiny of all Europe. All the powers seem to divide themselves between two rival houses, in order to weaken alternately the most powerful. Fortune

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favoured the talents, the force and the artifice of Charles the fifth. More ambitious and less voluptuous than Francis the first, his character turned the scale, and Europe inclined to his side, but did not take the bend for ever.

PHILIP the second, who had all the spirit of intrigue, but not the military virtues of his father, inherited his projects and ambitious views, and found the times favourable for his aggrandizement. He drained his kingdom of men and ships, and even of money, though he was in possession of the mines of the new world; and left behind him a monarchy more extensive, but the kingdom of Spain much weaker than it had been under his father.

His son imagined he should fasten the chains of Europe anew by an alliance with that branch of his house which reigned in Germany. Philip the second had detached himself from it by negligence; Philip the third resumed this political track. But in other respects he followed the erroneous, narrow, superstitious and pedantic principles of his predecessor. Within the state, there was much formality, but no order, and no œconomy. The church was perpetually devouring the state. The inquisition, that deformed monster, who hides his head in the heavens, and his feet in the infernal regions, struck at the root of population, which at the same time suffered considerably from war and the colonies. Without the state, there were still the same ambitious views with less skilful measures. Rash and precipitate in his enterprizes, slow and stubborn in the execution of them. Philip the third had all those defects which are prejudicial to each other, and make every project miscarry. He exhausted the little life and vigour the monarchy had left. Richelieu availed himself of the weakness of Spain and the foibles of the king whom he ruled over, to

that period with his intrigues, and convey his name to posterity. Germany and Spain were in a manner connected by the house of Austria; to this league, he opposed by way of counterpoise that of France with Sweden. This system would have been the work of his times, if it had not been the work of his genius. Gustavus Adolphus by his conquests enslaved all the north. All Europe concurred in lowering the pride of Austria; and the peace of the Pyrenees turned the advantage of the scale in favour of Spain and France.

CHARLES the fifth had been accused of aiming at universal monarchy; and Lewis the fourteenth was taxed with the same ambition. But neither of them ever conceived so high and so rash a project. They were both of them passionately desirous of extending their empire, by aggrandizing their families. This ambition is equally natural to princes of an ordinary cast, who are born without any talents, as it is to monarchs of a superior understanding, who have neither virtue nor morals. But neither Charles the fifth, nor Lewis the fourteenth had that kind of determination, that impulse of the soul to brave every thing, which makes conquerors of heroes: they had nothing of Alexander about them. Nevertheless useful alarms were taken and spread abroad. Such alarms cannot be too soon thought of, nor too soon spread, when there arises any powers that are formidable to their neighbours. It is chiefly among nations, and with respect to kings, that fear produces safety.

WHEN Lewis the XIVth began to look about him, perhaps, he might be surprized at seeing himself more powerful than he thought he was. His greatness was partly owing to the little harmony there was between the forces and the measures of his enemies. Europe had, indeed, felt the necessity of a common tie, but had not

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found out how to form it. In treating with this monarch, proud of success, and vain from the applause he had received, it was thought a great deal was gained if all was not lost. In short, the insulting behaviour of France which increased with her victories; the natural turn of her intrigues to spread dissention every where, in order to reign alone; her contempt for the faith of treaties; her haughty and authoritative tone, confirmed the change of envy into hatred, and raised universal alarms. Even those princes, who had seen without umbrage, or rather favoured the increase of her power, felt the necessity of repairing this error in politics, and understood that they must combine and raise among themselves a body of forces superior to those of France, in order to prevent her from tyrannizing over the nations. Leagues were, therefore, formed, but for a long time without effect. One single man appeared to animate and conduct them. Warmed with that public spirit, which only great and virtuous souls can possess, it was a prince, though born in a republic, who was seized for all Europe with that love of liberty, so natural to upright minds. This man turned his ambition towards the object the most elevated, the most worthy of the time in which he lived. His own interest never warped him from the interest of the public. With a courage which was entirely his own, he knew how to brave those very defeats he foresaw; expecting less success from his military talents, than a happy issue from his patience and his political activity. Such was the situation of affairs, when the succession to the throne of Spain set all Europe in flames.

SINCE the empire of the Persians and that of the Romans, ambition had never been tempted by so rich a spoil. The prince, who might have joined it to his own crown, would naturally have risen to that universal monarchy,

narchy, the phantom of which terrified the minds of all men. The business, therefore, was to prevent this throne from falling into the hands of a power already formidable, and to keep the balance equal between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, who had the only hereditary right to the throne.

MEN well versed in the knowledge of the manners and affairs of Spain, have asserted, if we may believe Bolingbroke, that had it not been for the hostilities, which were then raised by England and Holland, we should have seen Philip the Vth as good a Spaniard as the Philips his predecessors, and that the French cabinet would then have had no influence upon the Spanish administration; but that the war raised against the Spaniards to give them a king, obliged them to have recourse to the fleets and armies of a crown that was alone capable of assisting them in choosing one that would suit them. This deep and just idea has been confirmed by the experience of half a century. The turn of the Spaniards has never been able to coincide with the taste of the French. Spain, from the character of her inhabitants, seems rather to belong to Africa than to Europe.

THE events, however, answered to the general wishes. The armies and the councils of the quadruple alliance, gained an equal superiority over the common enemy. Instead of those languid and unfortunate campaigns, which had tried but not discouraged the prince of Orange, all the operations of the confederates were successful. France, in her turn, humbled and defeated on all sides, was upon the brink of ruin, when she was restored by the death of the emperor.

It was then perceived, that if the archduke Charles, crowned with the imperial diadem, and succeeding to all the dominions of the house of Austria, should join Spain

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and the West-Indies to this vast inheritance, he would be in possession of that same exorbitant power, which the war had wrested from the house of Bourbon. But, the enemies of France still persisted in their design of dethroning Philip the Vth, without thinking of the person that was to succeed him; while true politicians, notwithstanding their triumphs, grew tired of a war, the very success of which always became an evil, when it could no longer do any good.

THIS difference of opinions raised dissensions among the allies, which prevented them from reaping all those advantages from the peace of Utrecht, which they might reasonably have expected from their success. The best barrier that could be formed to cover the provinces of the allies, was to lay open the frontiers of France. Lewis the XIVth had employed forty years in fortifying them, and his neighbours had suffered him quietly to raise these bulwarks which kept them in continual awe. It was necessary to demolish them: for every strong power that puts itself in a posture of defence, intends to form an attack. Philip remained upon the throne of Spain; and the fortifications were left standing in Flanders, and on the borders of the Rhine.

SINCE this period, no opportunity hath offered, to repair the imprudence committed at the peace of Utrecht. France hath always maintained its superiority on the continent: but chance hath often diminished its influence. The scales of the political balance will never be perfectly even, nor accurate enough to determine the degrees of power with exact precision. Perhaps, even this system of equality may be nothing more than a chimæra. The balance can only be fixed by treaties, and treaties can have no solidity, when they are only made between absolute monarchs, and not between nations. These acts ought

ought to bind the people themselves, because the object of them is their peace and safety, which are their greatest good: but a despot always sacrifices his subjects to his anxiety, and his engagements to his ambition.

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BUT it is not war alone that determines the superiority of nations, as it has been hitherto imagined; since the last half century commerce hath had a great share in it. While the powers of the continent measured and parcelled out Europe into unequal portions, which policy by leagues, treaties, and alliances always kept in equilibrium; a maritime people formed as it were a new system, and by its industry made the land subject to the sea; as nature herself has done by her laws. It formed, or unfolded that extensive commerce, the basis of which is an excellent agriculture, flourishing manufactures, and the richest possessions of the four quarters of the world. This is the kind of universal monarchy that Europe ought to rest from England, in restoring to each maritime state that freedom, and that power it hath a right to have upon the element that surrounds it. This is a system of public good founded upon natural equity, and in this case justice is the voice of general interest. The people cannot be too much warned to resume all their powers, and to employ the resources offered them by the climate and the soil they inhabit, to acquire that national and distinct independence in which they were born.

If all Europe were sufficiently enlightened, and if each nation were acquaintance with its rights and its real advantages, neither the continent, nor the ocean would mutually give laws to each other; but a reciprocal influence would be established between the continental and maritime people, a balance of industry and power, which would induce a mutual intercourse for the general

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THERE is a great error that prevails in modern politics, which is that of weakening ones enemies as much as possible. But, no nation can labour at the ruin of others, without paving the way for and hastening its own slavery. There are certainly moments in which fortune at once throws into the way of a people a great increase of power; but such sudden elevations are not lasting. It is oftentimes better to support rivals, than to oppress them. Sparta refused to enslave Athens, and Rome repented of having destroyed Carthage.

THIS elevation of ideas, which belongs still more to nations than to kings, would prevent politicians from the necessity of committing many crimes and asserting many falsehoods; and would remove many impediments and difficulties out of the way of negotiators. At present, the complication of affairs hath rendered negotiations very intricate. Policy, like that insidious insect that weaves its web in darkness, hath stretched forth its net in the midst of Europe, and fastened it, as it were, to every court. One single thread cannot be touched without drawing all the rest. The lowest sovereign hath some hidden concern in the treaties between the great powers. Two petty princes of Germany cannot exchange a fief, or a domain, without being thwarted or seconded by the courts of Vienna, Versailles, or London. Negotiations must be carried on in all the cabinets for years together for every the most trifling change in the disposition of the land. The blood of the people is the only thing that is not bargained for. War is determined upon in a couple of days, peace is dragged on for years.

years. This slowness in negotiations, which proceeds from the nature of things, is partly owing also to the character of the negotiators.

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MOST of these are ignorant men, who are treating with some enlightened persons. There are, perhaps, two or three wise and judicious cabinets in Europe. The rest are in possession of intriguing men, raised to the management of affairs by the passions and shameful pleasures of a master and his mistresses. A man is advanced to a share in the administration, without knowing any thing of the matter; he adopts the first system that is offered to his caprice; pursues it without understanding it, and with so much the more obstinacy the more ignorant he is; he overturns all that has been done by his predecessors, in order to lay the foundations of his own system, which he will never be able to raise. Richelieu's first declaration, when he became minister, was: *the council hath altered its plan*. This saying, which was once found to be a good one, in the mouth of one single man, has, perhaps, been repeated, or thought of, by every one of Richelieu's successors. All public men have the vanity, not only to proportion the parade of their expence, of their manner, and of their air, to the height of their office; but even to swell the opinion they have of their understanding, in proportion to the influence of their authority.

WHEN a nation is great and powerful, what should its governors be? The court and the people will answer this question, but in a very different manner. The ministers see nothing in their office but the enlargement of their rights; the people see nothing but the enlargement of their duties. The ideas of the people are just; for the obligations and rights of each government ought to be regulated by the wants and desires of each nation.

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But this principle of natural right is not applicable to the social state. As societies, whatever be their origin, are almost all of them subject to the authority of one single man, political measures are dependent on the character of the prince.

If the king is a weak and unsteady man, his government will change as his ministers, and his politics will vary with his government. He will have alternately ministers, ignorant or enlightened, steady or fickle, deceitful or sincere, harsh or humane, inclined to war or peace; such, in a word, as the vicissitude of intrigues will produce them. Such a government will neither have system nor order in its politics; and all other governments will not be able to keep up fixed views and permanent measures with it. The system of politics must then vary with the day, or the moment; that is, with the humour of the prince.

BUT the fate of nations and political interests are very different in republican governments. As the authority there resides in the collective body of the people, there are certain principles and some public interests that prevail in the negotiations. In this case the permanency of a system is not to be confined to a duration of a ministry, or to the life of one single man. The general spirit that exists and perpetuates itself in the nation, is the only rule of the negotiations. Not but that a powerful citizen, or an eloquent demagogue, may sometimes lead a popular government into a political mistake; but this is easily recovered. Faults, in these instances, are lessons, as well as successes are. Great events, and not men, produce remarkable periods in the history of republics. It is in vain to attempt to overreach a free people by artifice, or intrigues in a treaty of peace, or alliance. Their maxims will always bring them

them back to their lasting interests, and all engagements will give way to the supreme law. In these governments, it is the safety of the people that does every thing, while in others it is the will of the master.

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THIS contrast of political maxims has rendered popular constitutions suspicious or odious to all absolute monarchs. They have been under apprehensions lest the republican spirit should reach to their own subjects, the weight of whose chains they are every day increasing. One may, therefore, perceive a kind of secret conspiracy between all monarchies, to destroy, or insensibly to sap the foundations of all free states. But liberty will arise from the midst of oppression. It is already in every heart; and it will be conveyed by public writings into the minds of all enlightened men; and by tyranny into the hearts of the people. All men will, at length, feel, and this period is at no great distance, that liberty is the first gift of heaven, as it is the first source of virtue. The instruments of despotism will become its destroyers; and the enemies of humanity, those who seem armed at present merely to fight against it, will exert themselves in its defence.

WAR, as well as society, has existed at all times and in all countries; but the art of war is only to be found in certain ages of the world, and among certain people. The Greeks instituted it, and conquered all the forces of Asia. The Romans improved it and conquered the world. These two nations worthy to command all others, since they raised themselves by genius and by virtue, owed their superiority to the infantry, in which every single man exerts his whole strength. The phalanxes and the legions were victorious every where.


WHEN indolence rather than activity had introduced cavalry into their armies, Rome lost some of its glory and

and success. Notwithstanding the exact discipline of its troops, it could no longer make a resistance to barbarous nations, that fought on foot.

YET, these half-savage men, who with arms alone and the mere powers of nature, had subdued the most extensive and most civilized empire of the universe, soon changed their infantry into cavalry. This was properly called the line of battle, or the army. All the nobility were in possession of the lands and the privileges, those appurtenances of victory, chose to ride on horseback; while the enslaved people were left on foot, almost without arms and without estimation.

IN times when the gentleman was distinguished by his horse; when the man was nothing, but the rider was all, when wars were nothing but irruptions, and campaigns but a day; when success depended upon the quickness of marches: then the fate of armies was determined by cavalry. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there were scarce any other troops in Europe. The dexterity and strength of men was no longer shewn in wrestling, at the cestus, in the exercise of the arms, and of all the muscles of the body; but in tournaments, in managing a horse, and in throwing the lance in full speed. This species of war, more suitable to wandering Tartars, than to fixed and sedentary societies, was one of the errors of the feudal government. A race of conquerors, whose rights were only in their swords; whose merit and glory was in their arms; who had no other occupation than hunting, could hardly avoid riding on horseback, with all that train of pride and spirit of authority they must necessarily acquire from a rude and uncultivated understanding. But what could troops of heavy-armed cavalry avail in the attack and defence of
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castles and towns, fortified by walls or by surrounding waters?

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It is this imperfection in the military art which occasioned a war to last uninterruptedly for ages, between France and England. War was carried on perpetually for want of a sufficient number of combatants. Whole months were required to collect, to arm, to lead into the field troops that were only to stay there for a few weeks. Kings could not assemble more than a certain number of vassals, and those at stated times. The lords had only a right to call under their banners some of their tenants, at stipulated terms. Forms and rules then wasted all the time in war, as they now absorb all fortunes in the courts of justice. At length the French tired with being constantly obliged to repulse the English, like the horse that implored the assistance of man against the stag, suffered the yoke and burthen to be imposed upon them, which they bear to this day. Kings raised, in their own pay, troops that subsisted always. Charles the seventh, after having expelled the English with mercenaries, when he disbanded his army, kept nine thousand horse, and sixteen thousand infantry.

THIS was the origin of the abasement of the nobility, and the elevation of monarchy; of the political liberty of the nation without, and its civil slavery within. The people were delivered from feudal tyranny, but to fall some time or other under the despotism of kings. So much does human nature seem born for slavery! It became necessary to raise a fund for the payment of a militia; and the taxes were arbitrary, and unlimited as the number of soldiers, that were distributed in the different parts of the kingdom, under a pretence of guarding the frontiers against the enemy; but, in fact, to restrain and oppress the subject. The officers, commanders

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manders and governors were tools of government always armed against the nation itself. They and their soldiers no longer looked upon themselves, as citizens of the state, solely devoted to the defence of the property and rights of the people. They acknowledged no longer any person in the kingdom, except the king, in whose name they were ready to massacre their fathers and brothers. In short, the militia of the nation was nothing more than a royal militia.

THE discovery of gunpowder which required large expences and great preparation, forges, magazines, and arsenals, made arms more than ever dependent on kings, and completed the advantage that infantry hath over cavalry. The latter presented the flank of the man and horse to the former. A horseman dismounted was either lost or good for nothing; and a horse without a leader carried confusion and dismay among the ranks. The havock which the artillery and fire-arms made in squadrons was more difficult to repair than it was in the battalion. In a word, men could be bought and disciplined at a less expence than horses: and this made it easy for kings to have soldiers.

THUS the innovation of Charles the seventh, fatal to his subjects, at least in futurity, became from his example prejudicial to the liberty of all the people of Europe. Every nation was obliged to keep itself upon the defence against a nation always in arms. The right system of politics, if there were any politics at a time when the arts, literature and commerce had not yet opened a communication among people, would have been, that the princes should all together have fallen upon that one who had put himself into a state of continual war. But instead of compelling him to lay down his arms, they took up arms themselves. This contagion spread itself the quicker,

quicker, as it appeared the only remedy against the danger of an invasion, the only guarantee of the security of the nations.

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THERE was however in all parts a want of the knowledge necessary to discipline a body of infantry, the importance of which began to be perceived. The manner of fighting which the Switzers had used against the Burgundians, had rendered them as famous as formidable. With weighty swords and long halberds, they had always overcome the horses and men of the feudal militia. Their ranks being impenetrable, and marching on in close columns, they overthrew all that attacked, and all that opposed them. Every power was then desirous of having some of these soldiers. But, the Switzers, sensible of the need there was of their assistance, and setting the purchase of it at too high a rate, it became necessary to resolve to do without them, and to form in all parts a national infantry, in order not to depend upon these auxiliary troops.

THE Germans were the first to adopt a discipline that required only strength of body, and subordination. Proceeding from a country abounding in men and horses, they almost rivalled the reputation of the Swiss infantry, without losing the advantage of their own cavalry.

THE French, more lively, adopted with greater difficulty, and more slowly, a kind of militia that laid a restraint upon all their motions, and seemed rather to require perseverance than impetuosity. But the taste for imitation and novelty prevailed among this light people, over that vanity which is fond of its own customs.

THE Spaniards, notwithstanding the pride they have been reproached with, improved upon the Switzers, by bringing to greater perfection the discipline of that war-

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like people. They formed an infantry which became alternately the terror and admiration of Europe.

IN proportion as the infantry increased, the custom and service of the feudal militia ceased in all parts, and the war was more and more extended. National constitution had for ages past scarce allowed the several people to wage war beyond the barriers of their own states. It was carried on upon the frontiers only between the neighbouring powers. When France and Spain had tried their arms in the most remote extremities of Italy, it was no longer possible to call together the ban and arriere ban of the nations; because it was not in fact the people who made war against each other, but the kings with their troops, for the honour of themselves or their families, without any regard to the good of their subjects. Not that the princes did not endeavour to interest the national pride of the people in their quarrels; but this was done merely to weaken or totally to subdue their spirit of independence which was still struggling among some sets of men, against that absolute authority which the princes had gradually assumed.

ALL Europe was in commotion. The Germans in Italy; the Italians in Germany; the French in both these countries. The Turks were set down before Naples and Nice; and the Spaniards were all at once, in Africa, in Hungary, in Italy, in Germany, in France, and in the low countries. All these nations irritated, and practised in war, became adepts in the art of fighting and destroying each other with infallible regularity and precision.

It was religion that caused the Germans to contend with the Germans; the French with the French; but which more particularly excited Flanders against Spain. It was on the fens of Holland that fell all the rage of a bigoted

bigoted and despotic king; of a superstitious and sanguinary prince; of two Philips, and a duke of Alba. It was in the low countries that a republic arose from the persecutions of tyranny, and the flames of the inquisition. When freedom had broken her chains, and found an asylum in the ocean, she raised her bulwarks upon the continent. The Dutch were the first who put in practice the art of fortifying places: so much doth genius and invention belong to free minds. Their example was followed in all parts. Extensive states had only occasion to fortify their frontiers. Germany and Italy, divided among a number of princes, were thick set with strong citadels from one end to the other. When we travel through these countries, we meet every evening with gates shut and draw-bridges at the entrance of the towns.

WHILE the Dutch were improving the art of fortifying, attacking, and defending towns, the Swedes were employed in forming, as it were, the military science of the field. Gustavus Adolphus was eminently skilled in the art of war, which other nations have acquired at times, but which the Germans have always preserved, as peculiarly attached to their climate. There are soldiers in other parts, but it is Germany alone that furnishes generals.

THIS art had been in constant use for a century past, when it was remarkably improved by Lewis the fourteenth. He first introduced the custom of wearing a uniform; of carrying the bayonet at the end of the firelock; of making use of the artillery to advantage; in a word, of increasing to the utmost the destructive powers of fire and sword.

THE king of Prussia alone hath invented a new method of disciplining armies, of heading battles, and of gaining victories. This prince, who would have been

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better served by another nation, and certainly better commended than he could possibly be by his own; who hath not had, since Alexander, his equal in history for extent and variety of talents; who without having been himself formed by Greeks, hath been able to form Lacedæmonians; he, in a word, who hath deserved, beyond all others, that his name should be recorded in his age, as a distinction vying in greatness with those of the finest ages of the world: this same king of Prussia hath totally changed the principles of war, by giving in some measure to the legs an advantage over the arms; that is to say, that by the rapidity of his evolutions and the celerity of his marches, he hath always excelled his enemies, even when he hath not conquered them. All the nations of Europe have been obliged to imitate his example, in order not to be obliged to submit to him. He will enjoy the glory, since it is one, of having raised the art of war to a degree of perfection, from which fortunately it cannot but degenerate.

It is not to him, but to Lewis the fourteenth, that we must ascribe that prodigious multiplicity of troops, which presents us with the spectacle of war even in the midst of peace. In imitation of that monarch, who had always a numerous army on foot, all the princes of Europe, whether ruling over large or small states, have kept bodies of troops, oftentimes more burthensome to the subject from the expences of their pay, than useful for the defence of the state. Some of the most politic among them have engaged these troops in the pay of greater powers; and thus by a double advantage, they have contrived to raise large sums of money for lives which were always sold but never exposed.

WHAT right then have we to exclaim against those ages of barbarous manners under the feudal government?

War

War was then no more than a state of commotion, a tempestuous period; but at present it is almost a natural state. Most governments now either are, or become military. Even the improvement of discipline is a proof of it. Security in our fields, tranquillity in the cities, whether troops are passing through or are quartered in them; the police which prevails about camps and in garrisoned towns, do, indeed, shew us that arms have some restraint, but at the same time indicate that every thing is subject to their power.

THOUGH the licentiousness and plunder of the soldier are restrained, the people are obliged to pay dear for this security, by the levying of taxes and militia. It is not merely by battles that war is fatal. A million of men lost or destroyed are nothing out of a hundred million which Europe may, perhaps, contain. But this million are the flower of the population, the choicest of the youth, the source of reproduction, the life of industry and labour. And in order to support and recruit this million of troops, all the several orders of society must be burdened, which encroaching one upon the other, must necessarily oppress the lowest and most useful of them, that of the husbandmen. The increase of taxes and the difficulty of collecting them, destroy from want or hunger those very families, that are the parents and nurseries of the manufactures and the armies.

ANOTHER inconvenience arising from the increase of troops, is a diminution of bravery. There are few men that are born fit for war. If we except Lacedæmon and Rome, where women that were free citizens brought forth soldiers; where children were lulled to sleep, and awakened with the noise of trumpets and warlike songs; where education rendered men unnatural, and made them beings of a different species: all other nations have only had a few brave men amongst them. And,

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indeed, the lesser is the number of troops raised, the better will they be. Formerly, among our ancestors, less civilized but stronger than we are, the armies were much less numerous than ours, but the engagements were more decisive. It was necessary to be a noble or a rich man to serve in the army, which was looked upon both as an honour and a privilege. None but volunteers bore the standard. All their engagements ended with the campaign; and any man who disliked the art of war, was at liberty to withdraw himself. Besides, there was then more of that heat of the blood, of that greatness of sentiment which constitutes true courage. At present, what glory is there in serving under absolute commanders, who judge of men by their size, estimate them by their pay, enlist them by force or by stratagem, and keep or discharge them at pleasure without their consent, as they have taken them? What honour is there in aspiring to the command of armies under the baneful influence of courts, where every thing is given or taken away without reason; where men without merit are raised, and others without offence are degraded by mere caprice? Therefore, except in rising empires, or in critical times, the greater number there are of soldiers in the state, the more is the nation weakened; and in proportion as a state is enfeebled, the number of its soldiers is increased.

A third inconvenience is, that the increase of the militia tends to despotism. A number of troops, towns well fortified, magazines and arsenals may prevent irruptions; but in preserving a people from the invasions of a conqueror, they do not secure them from the encroachments of a despotic prince. So many soldiers do but keep those that are already slaves in chains. The strongest then prevails, and makes every thing conform to his will, as every thing is subservient to his power.

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By the force of arms alone, he sets the opinions of men at defiance, and enforces obedience. With soldiers he levies taxes; and by taxes he raises soldiers. He imagines that he exerts and shews his authority, by destroying what he hath formed; but his exertions are vain and fruitless. He is perpetually renewing his militia, without ever being able to recover his national strength. In vain do his soldiers keep his people in continual awe; if his subjects tremble at his troops; his troops in return will fly from the enemy. But in these circumstances the loss of battle is the loss of a kingdom. The hearts of all being alienated, are impatient of submitting to a foreign yoke; because under the dominion of a conqueror, there are still hopes, under that of a despot, there is nothing but apprehension. When the progress of the military government hath induced despotism, then the nation is lost. The soldiery soon becomes insolent and detested. Families become extinct by barrenness occasioned from wretchedness and debauchery. A spirit of discord and hatred prevails amongst all orders of men, that are either corrupted or disgraced. Societies betray, sell, and plunder each other, and give themselves up one after another to the scourges of the despot, who oppresses, destroys, and annihilates them all. Such is the end of that art of war, which induces a military government. Let us now consider the influence of the navy.

THE antients have transmitted to us almost all those arts, that have been revived with the restoration of letters; but we have gone beyond them in the military management of the navy. Tyre and Sidon, Carthage and Rome, scarce knew any sea but the Mediterranean; to sail through which it was only necessary to have rafts, galleys, and men to row them. Sea engagements might then be obstinate; but it required no great skill to con-

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stru& equip the fleets. To pass from Europe into Africa, nothing was necessary, but what may be called flat-bottomed boats which landed Carthaginians or Romans; who were almost the only people engaged in sea fights. The Athenians and the republics of Asia, were fortunately more employed in commerce than in fighting.

AFTER these famous nations had abandoned both the land and the sea to plunderers and to pirates, the navy remained during twelve centuries, in that state of annihilation into which all the other arts were fallen. These swarms of barbarians, who over-ran and totally destroyed Rome, came from the Baltic, upon rafts or canoes, to ravage and plunder our sea-coasts, without quitting, however, the continent. These were not voyages, but descents upon the coast that were continually renewed. The Danes and Normans were not armed for a cruise, and scarce knew how to fight upon land.

At length, chance or the Chinese supplied the Europeans with the compass, and the compass gained them America. The needle, which taught sailors to know how far they were distant from the north, or how near they approached to it, emboldened them to attempt longer voyages, and to lose sight of land for whole months together. Geometry and astronomy taught them how to compute the progress of the constellations, to determine the longitude by them, and to judge pretty nearly how far they were advancing to the east and to the west. Even at that time, the height and the distance of vessels from the coast might always have been known. Though the knowledge of the longitudes be much more inaccurate than that of the latitudes, yet both the one and the other had soon sufficiently improved navigation, to give rise to the art of carrying on war by sea. The first essay, however, of this art

art was made between gallies that were in possession of the Mediterranean. The most celebrated engagement of the modern navy was that of Lepanto, which was given two centuries ago, between two hundred and five christian, and two hundred and sixty Turkish gallies. It was Italy alone, which hath invented every thing and preserved nothing, that had constructed this prodigious armament; but at that time, its trade, its population were the double of what they are at present. Besides, those gallies were neither so long nor so large as those of our times, as we may judge by some of the old carcases that are still preserved in the arsenal of Venice. The number of rowers amounted to one hundred and fifty, and the troops did not exceed fourscore in one galley. At this day Venice has more beautiful gallies and less influence upon that sea which the doge marries, and which other powers frequent and trade upon.

GALLIES, indeed, were very proper for criminals; but stronger vessels were required for soldiers. The art of constructing ships improved with that of navigation. Philip the second, king of all Spain, and of the East and West Indies, employed all the docks of Spain and Portugal, Naples and Sicily which he then possessed, in constructing ships of an extraordinary size and strength; and his fleet assumed the title of the Invincible Armada. It consisted of one hundred and thirty ships, near one hundred of which were the largest that had yet been seen on the ocean. Twenty small ships followed this fleet, and sailed or fought under its protection. The pride of the Spaniards, in the sixteenth century, hath dwelt very much upon and exaggerated the pompous description of this formidable armament. But what spread terror and admiration two centuries ago, would now serve only to excite laughter. The largest of those ships would be no more than a third-rate vessel in our squadrons,

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squadrons. They were so heavily armed, and so ill-conducted, that they could neither move, nor sail near the wind, nor board another vessel, nor could the ship be properly worked in tempestuous weather. The sailors were as awkward as the ships were heavy, and the pilots almost as ignorant as the sailors.

THE English, who were already acquainted with the weakness and little skill of their enemies at sea, concluded that their inexperience would occasion their defeat. Satisfied with avoiding to board these weighty machines, they burned a part of them. Some of these enormous galleons were taken, others disabled. A storm came on: most of the ships had lost their anchors; they were abandoned by their crews to the fury of the waves, and cast away, some upon the western coasts of Scotland, others upon the coasts of Ireland. Scarce one half of this invincible fleet was able to return to Spain, where its tattered condition, joined to the terror of the sailors, spread a consternation throughout the land, from which it has never recovered. The Spaniards were for ever depressed by the loss of an armament that had cost three years of preparation, and upon which all the forces and revenues of the kingdom were almost exhausted.

THE destruction of the Spanish navy occasioned the dominion of the sea to pass into the hands of the Dutch. The pride of their former tyrants could not be more properly punished than by the prosperity of a people, forced by oppression to break the yoke of regal authority. When this republic began to raise its head from amidst its fens, the rest of Europe was embroiled in civil wars by the spirit of fanaticism. Persecution drove men into Holland from all other states. The inquisition which the house of Austria wished to extend over all parts of its dominion; the persecution which Henry the second raised

raised in France; the emissaries of Rome, who were supported in England by Mary; every thing, in a word, concurred to people Holland with an immense number of refugees. This country had neither lands, nor harvest for their subsistence. They were forced to seek it by sea throughout the whole universe. Almost all the commerce of Europe was engrossed by Lisbon, Cadiz and Antwerp, under one sovereign, whose power and ambition made him an universal object of hatred and envy. The new republicans, having escaped his tyranny, and being excited by resentment and necessity, became pirates, and formed a navy at the expence of the Spaniards and Portuguese, whom they held in utter aversion. France and England, who in the advancement of the rising republic, foresaw nothing more than the humiliation of the house of Austria, assisted her in preserving conquests and spoils, the value of which they were yet unacquainted with. Thus the Dutch secured to themselves establishments whenever they chose; fixed themselves in these acquisitions before the jealousy of other nations could be excited, and imperceptibly made themselves masters of all commerce by their industry, and of all the seas by the strength of their squadrons.

THE domestic contentions in England were for a while favourable to this prosperity, which had been so silently acquired in remote countries. But at length Cromwell roused in his country the emulation of commerce, so natural to the inhabitants of an island. To share the empire of the seas with them was, in fact, to give it up to them; and the Dutch were determined to keep it. Instead of seeking the alliance of England, they courageously resolved upon war. They carried it on for a long time with unequal force; and this perseverance against misfortune preserved to them, at least,

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an honourable rivalship. Superiority in the construction and form of the ships often gave the victory to their enemies; but the vanquished never met with any decisive losses.

THESE long and dreadful combats, however, had exhausted, or, at least, diminished the strength of the two nations, when Lewis the XIV, willing to avail himself of their mutual weakness, aspired to the empire of the sea. When this prince first assumed the reins of government, he found no more than eight or nine vessels in his harbours, and those half rotten; neither were they ships of the first or second rate. Richelieu had known the necessity of raising a pier before Rochelle, but not of forming a navy; the idea of which must, however, have been conceived by Henry the IVth and his friend Sully. But it was reserved to the finest age of the French nation to give birth to every improvement at once. Lewis, who caught, at least, all the ideas of grandeur, he did not himself create, established a council for the construction of ships in each of the five ports which he opened to the royal or military navy. He formed docks and arsenals; and in less than twenty years, the French had one hundred ships of the line.

THEY first tried their strength with the people of Barbary, who were beaten. They afterwards lowered the Spanish flag. Then, engaging with the fleets of England and Holland, sometimes separate, and sometimes combined, they generally gained the honour and advantage of the fight. The first memorable defeat the French navy experienced, was in 1692, when with forty ships, they attacked 90 English and Dutch ships opposite La Hogue in order to give the English a king they would not have, and who was not himself very desirous of the title. The most numerous fleet obtained the victory. James the second felt an involuntary pleasure

pleasure at the triumph of the people who expelled him; as if at this instant the blind love of his country had prevailed within him, over his ambition for the throne. Since that day the naval powers of France have been upon the decline, and have never been re-established.

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FROM that period England assumed a superiority, which hath carried it to the highest pitch of prosperity. A people, who are at present the first upon the seas, easily persuade themselves that they have always held that empire. Sometimes they trace their maritime power to the æra of Julius Cæsar; sometimes they will assert that they have ruled over the ocean, at least, since the ninth century. Perhaps, some day or other, the Corsicans who are nothing at present, when they are become a maritime people, will record in their annals that they have always ruled over the Mediterranean. Such is the vanity of mankind, they must endeavour to aggrandize themselves in past as well as future times. Truth alone, that exists before all nations and survives them all, informs us, that there hath been no navy in Europe from the christian æra till the 16th century. The English themselves had no need of it while they remained in possession of Normandy and of the coasts of France.

WHEN Henry the VIIIth wanted to equip a fleet he was obliged to hire vessels from Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Dantzic; but especially from Genoa and Venice, who alone knew how to construct and guide a fleet; who supplied all the sailors and admirals; who gave to Europe a Columbus, an Americus, a Cabot, a Veresani, those wonderful men who have added so much to the extent of the globe. Elizabeth wanted a naval force against Spain, and permitted her subjects to arm ships to act against the enemies of state. This permission formed the military sailors. The queen herself
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went to see a ship that had been round the world; where she embraced Drake, at the time she knighted him. She left forty-two men of war to her successors. James the first and Charles the first, added some ships to the naval forces they had received from the throne; but the commanders of this navy were chosen from the nobility, who satisfied with the honours, left the labours to the pilots; so that the art of navigation received no improvements.

THERE were few noblemen in the party that dethroned the Stuarts. Ships of the line were given to captains of ordinary extraction, but of uncommon skill in navigation. They improved, and made the British navy illustrious.

WHEN Charles II. reascended the throne, the kingdom was possessed of six and fifty ships. It increased under his reign, to the number of eighty-three, fifty-eight of which were ships of the line. Towards the latter days of this prince, it began to decline again. But, his brother, James II. restored it to its former lustre, and raised it even to a greater degree of splendour. Being himself high admiral before he came to the throne, he had invented the art of regulating the manœuvres of the fleet, by the signals of the flag. Happy, if he had better understood the art of governing a free people! When the prince of Orange, his son-in-law, seized his crown, the English navy consisted of one hundred and sixty-three vessels of all sizes, armed with seven thousand pieces of cannon, and equipped with forty-two thousand men. This force was doubled during the war that was carried on for the Spanish succession. It hath since increased so much, that the English think they are able alone to balance by their maritime forces the navy of the whole universe. England is now at sea, what Rome formerly

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was upon land, when she began to fall from her greatness.

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THE English nation considers its navy as the bulwark of its safety, and the source of its riches. It is in peace, as in war, the centre of all its hopes. It raises, therefore, a fleet more willingly, and with greater expedition than a battalion. It spares no expence, no political measures to acquire seamen.

FIRST the allurements of reward are put in action. The parliament in 1744, decreed, that all prizes taken by a man of war, should belong to the officers and crew of the conquering ship. They likewise granted an additional gratification of five pounds sterling to every Englishman, who in an engagement, should board, take, or sink an enemy's ship. To the allurements of profit, the government adds compulsive measures, if they become necessary. In times of war, they seize upon sailors of the mercantile navy.

NOTHING is apparently so contradictory to national freedom, as these exertions of authority upon men and commerce at the same time. Yet as these acts of violence do not take place unless in consequence of the necessities of the republic; they cannot be considered as encroachments upon liberty; because their object is the public safety; which is the particular interest of those who appear to be the victims of them; and because the state of society requires, that the will of each individual should be subservient to the will of the whole community. Besides, the sailors receive the same pay from the government, they would get from the trader, which totally justifies this compulsive measure; a measure which is always most advantageous to the state. The sailor is no longer at the charge of the public, but while he continues in its service. The expeditions
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are by these means carried on with greater secrecy and dispatch; and the crews are never idle. In a word, if this were an inconvenience, it is surely not worse than that perpetual slavery, in which all other European sailors are held.

THE navy is a new kind of power, which must change the face of the globe. It hath defeated the old system of equilibrium. Germany, which held the balance between the houses of Austria and Bourbon, hath ceded it to England; which island disposes at present of the continent. As by means of its ships it is in the vicinity of all maritime countries, its power of assisting or doing hurt is extended over a greater number of states. It has, therefore, a greater number of allies, a higher degree of consideration and influence. It is this island whose empire is established over America; because it hath men and arts in that country instead of gold and the materials of luxury. England is of itself the lever of the universe. She occasions the greatest revolutions; and carries the destiny of nations upon her fleets. She accused of aspiring to be sole mistress of navigation and trade. This empire which she might, perhaps, obtain for a short time, would occasion her ruin. The universal monarchy of the seas is not a less presumptuous project, than that of the land.

FRANCE is continually exclaiming that there is a necessity of establishing an equilibrium of power upon sea: but she is suspected of being desirous not to have any masters upon it, in order to have no longer any rivals on the continent, at least, Spain is the only power that has been hitherto persuaded to join her. It is a happy circumstance for Europe that the maritime forces should cause a diversion to those of the land. Any power that has its own coasts to defend, cannot easily overcome the barriers of its neighbours. For this purpose immense
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preparations are required; numberless troops; arsenals of all kinds; and a double provision of means and resources, in order to put schemes of conquest into execution. Since navigation hath prevailed in Europe, it enjoys greater security at home, and a more preponderating influence abroad. Its wars are, perhaps, neither less frequent, nor less bloody; but it suffers less ravage, and is less weakened by them. The operations are carried on with more harmony, more connection, and there are less of those great effects that throw all systems into confusion. There are more attempts and less mischief. All the various passions of men seemed directed towards one general good, one grand political view, one happy employment of all natural and moral faculties; which is no other than commerce.

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IF the art of navigation arose from fishing, as that of Commerce, war did from the chase; the navy then owes its existence to commerce. The desire of gain first induced us to make voyages; and one world hath been conquered to enrich another. This object of conquest has been the foundation of commerce; in order to support commerce naval forces have become necessary, which are themselves produced by the trading navigation. The Phœnicians, situated on the borders of the sea at the confines of Asia and Africa, to receive and dispense all the riches of the antient world, founded their colonies and built their cities, with no other view but that of commerce. At Tyre, they were the masters of the Mediterranean; at Carthage, they laid the foundations of a republic that traded by the ocean upon the best of the European coasts.

THE Greeks succeeded the Phœnicians: the Romans came after the Carthaginians and the Greeks; they held the dominion of the sea as well as of the land; but they

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carried on no other kind of commerce, except that of conveying into Italy, for their own use, all the riches of Africa, Asia, and the conquered world. When Rome had invaded the whole world, and had lost all her acquisitions, commerce returned, as it were, to its original source towards the east. There it was established, while the Barbarians over-ran Europe. The empire was divided; the din of arms, and the art of war remained in the west; but Italy preserved, at least, its communication with the Levant, where all the treasures of India were circulated.

THE Crusades exhausted in Asia all the rage of zeal and ambition, of war and fanaticism, with which the Europeans were possessed: but they brought back into Europe the taste of Asiatic luxury; and redeemed by the commencement of commerce and industry, the blood and the lives they had cost. Three centuries taken up in wars and voyages to the east, gave to the restless spirit of Europe a recruit it stood in need of; that it might not perish by a sort of internal consumption: they prepared the way for that ebullition of genius and activity, which since arose, and displayed itself in the conquest and trade of the West-Indies, and of America.

THE Portuguese attempted by degrees to double the African coast. They successively seized upon all the points, and all the ports that must necessarily lead them to the Cape of Good Hope. They were engaged, for the space of fourscore years, in making themselves masters of all that western coast, where this great cape terminates. In 1497, Vasco de Gama surmounted this barrier; and re-ascending by the eastern coast of Africa, arrived by a passage of twelve hundred leagues at the coast of Malabar, where all the treasures of the richest

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countries of Asia were poured in. This was the spot BOOK
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on which the Portuguese made their conquests.

WHILE this nation secured the mercantile articles, the Spaniards seized upon that which purchases them, the mines of gold and silver. These metals became not only a vehicle, but also an article of commerce. They immediately attracted all the rest in this double capacity. All nations were in want of them to facilitate the exchange of their commodities, and obtain the conveniences they stood in need of. The effusion of the luxury and the money of the south of Europe, altered the face and direction of commerce, at the same time that it extended its bounds.

BUT the two nations that had subdued the East and West Indies, neglected the arts and agriculture. Imagining that gold was to give them every thing, without thinking that it is labour alone which brings gold; they learned rather late, and at their own expence, that the industry which they lost, was more valuable than the riches they acquired; and it was from the Dutch that they learned this hard lesson.

WITH all the gold in the world, the Spaniards either remained or became poor; the Dutch presently acquired riches, without either lands or mines. Holland is a nation at the service of all the rest, but who sells her services at a high price. As soon as she had taken refuge in the midst of the sea, with industry and freedom, which are her tutelary gods, she perceived that she had not a sufficient quantity of land to support the sixth part of her inhabitants. She then chose the whole world for her domain, and resolved to enjoy it by her navigation and commerce. She made all lands contribute to her subsistence; and all nations supply her with the conveniences of life. Between the north and the south of

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Europe, she took the place of Flanders, from which she had divided, in order to be concentrated solely in herself. Bruges and Antwerp had attracted Italy and Germany into their ports; Holland in her turn became the staple of all commercial powers, rich or poor. Not satisfied with calling together all other nations, she visited them herself, in order to buy up from one what another wanted; to convey to the north, the merchandise of the south; to sell to the Spaniard ships for cargoes, and to exchange upon the Baltic wine for wood. She imitated the stewards and farmers of large estates, who by the immense profits they make in them, are enabled sooner or later to buy them up. It is at the charges of Spain and Portugal, as it were, that Holland succeeded in taking from those powers part of their conquests in the East and West Indies, and almost the whole of the profit of their colonies. She availed herself of the indolence of these proud conquerors; and by their activity and vigilance, got hold of the key of their treasures, leaving them nothing but the chest, which she took care to empty as fast as they filled it. It is thus that a low kind of people ruined two nations of polite and noble manners; but at the most honest and the most lawful game that can be met with in the several combinations of chance.

EVERY circumstance was favourable to the rise and progress of the commerce of the republic. Its position on the borders of the sea, at the mouths of several great rivers; its proximity to the most fertile or best cultivated lands of Europe: its natural connections with England and Germany, which defended it against France: the little extent and fertility of its own territory which obliged the inhabitants to become fishermen, sailors, brokers, bankers, carriers, and commissaries; in a word, to endeavour to live by industry for want of domain.

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Moral causes acceded to those of the climate and the soil, in establishing and advancing its prosperity. The liberty of its government, which opened an asylum to all strangers dissatisfied with their own; the freedom of its religion, which permitted a public and quiet profession of all other faiths; that is to say, the agreement of the call of nature with that of conscience, of interests with duties; in a word that toleration, that universal religion of all equitable and enlightened minds, friends to heaven and earth, to God, as to their father, to men, as to their brethren. In short, this commercial republic found out the secret of availing herself of all events, and of making even the calamities and vices of other nations concur in advancing its felicity. It turned to its own advantage the civil wars which fanaticism raised among people of a violent spirit, or which patriotism excited among a free people; the indolence and ignorance maintained by bigotry among two nations subject to the guidance of the imagination.

THIS spirit of industry in Holland, with which was intermixed a considerable share of that political craft which sows the seeds of jealousy and discord among the nations, at length opened the eyes of other powers. The English were the first to perceive that traffic might be carried on without the interposition of the Dutch. England, where the attempts of despotism had given birth to liberty, because they were antecedent to corruption and effeminacy, grew desirous of purchasing riches by labour which is the antidote to them. The English first considered commerce as the proper science and support of an enlightened, powerful and even a virtuous people. They considered it rather as an improvement of industry than an acquisition of enjoyments; rather as an encouragement and a source of activity among the people, than a promoter of luxury and magnificence.

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Invited to trade by their situation, this became the spirit of their government, and the means of their ambition. All their schemes tended to this great object. In other monarchies, trade is carried on by the common people, in this happy constitution by the state or the whole nation: certainly always with the thirst of dominion which implies the desire of enslaving, but with means, at least, that constitute the happiness of the world before it is subdued. By war, the conqueror is scarce more happy than the conquered; because the only concern between them is that of blood: but by commerce, the conquering people necessarily introduce industry into the country, which they would not have conquered if it had not been there already, or which they would not keep, if they had not brought it in along with them. Upon these principles England hath founded her commerce and her empire, and mutually and alternately extended one by the other.

THE French, situated under as favourable a sky, and upon as happy a soil, have for a long time flattered themselves that they had much to bestow upon other nations, and scarce any thing to ask from them. But Colbert was sensible that in the fermentation Europe was in at this time, there would be an evident gain for the culture and productions of a country that should work upon those of the whole world. He opened manufactures for all the arts. The woollens, the silks, the dyes, the embroideries, the gold and silver stuffs, were brought to so high a pitch of refinement in luxury and taste in the hands of the French, that they were in great request among those nobles who were in possession of the greatest landed property. To increase the produce of the arts, it was necessary to get the first materials, and these could only be supplied by direct commerce. The chances of navigation had given France some possessions in the new world,

world, as they had to all the plunderers that had taken to the sea. The ambition of some individuals had formed colonies there, which had been at first supported and even aggrandized by the trade of the Dutch and the English. A national navy would of course restore to the mother country this natural connection with its colonists. The government, therefore, established its naval forces upon the strength of its commercial navigation. The nation would then necessarily make a double profit upon the materials and the workmanship of the manufactures. The French pushed this precarious and temporary branch with an activity and spirit of emulation which must have left their rivals far behind them for a long time; and they still enjoy that superiority over other nations, in all those arts of luxury and ornament which procure riches to industry.

THE natural volatility of the national character and its turn to trifles, hath brought treasures to the state, by the lucky propagation of their fashions. Like to that light and delicate sex, which teaches and inspires us with a taste for dress, the French reign in all courts, at least, by the toilet; and their art of pleasing is one of the mysterious sources of their fortune and power. Other nations have mastered the world by those simple and rustic manners, that constitute the warlike virtues; it was given them to reign over it by their vices. Their empire will last, till they are debased under the feet of their masters by unprincipled and unbounded strokes of authority, when they will become contemptible in their own eyes. Then, they will lose, with their confidence in themselves, that industry, which is one of the sources of their opulence and of the springs of their activity. They will soon have neither manufactures, nor colonies, nor trade.

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THIS new principle of the moral world hath insinuated itself by degrees, till it is become, as it were, necessary to the existence of political bodies. The taste of luxury and ease hath produced the love of labour, which makes at present the chief strength of a state. In reality, the sedentary occupations of the mechanic arts render men more liable to be affected by the injuries of the seasons, less fit to be exposed to the open air which is the first nutritive principle of life. But still, it is better that the human race should be enervated under the roofs of the workshops, than inured to hardships under tents; because war destroys while commerce on the contrary creates. By this useful revolution in manners, the general maxims of politics have altered the face of Europe. A people immersed in poverty can no longer become formidable to a rich nation. Strength is at present an attendant on riches, because riches are no longer the fruits of conquest, but the product of assiduous labour, and of a life spent in unremitting employment. Gold and silver corrupt only those indolent minds who indulge in the delights of luxury, upon that stage of intrigue and meanness, that is called greatness. But these metals employ the hands and arms of the people; they excite a spirit of agriculture in the fields; of navigation in the maritime cities; and in the centre of the state they lead to the manufacturing of arms, cloathing, furniture, and the construction of buildings. A spirit of emulation exists between man and nature: they are perpetually improving each other. The people are formed and fashioned by the arts they profess. If there are some occupations which soften and degrade the human race, there are others by which it is hardened and repaired. If it be true that art renders them unnatural, they do not, at least, propagate in order to destroy themselves, as among the barbarous

nations in heroic times. It is certainly an easy and seducing matter, to describe the Romans with the single art of war, subduing all the other arts, all other nations indolent or commercial, civilized or savage; breaking or despising the vessels of Corinth, more happy with their gods made of clay, than with the golden statues of their worthless emperors. But it is a more pleasing, and perhaps, a finer sight, to view all Europe peopled with laborious nations, who are continually going round the globe, to cultivate and make it fit for mankind; to see them put in motion by the vivifying breath of industry, all the regenerating powers of nature; seek in the abyss of the ocean, and in the bowels of rocks, for new supports, or new enjoyments; stir and raise up the earth with all the mechanic powers invented by genius; established between the two hemispheres the happy improvements in the art of navigation, a communication of flying bridges, as it were, that re-unite one continent with the other; pursue all the tracks of the sun, overcome the annual barriers, and pass from the tropics to the poles upon the wings of the wind; in a word, to see them open all the streams of population and pleasure, in order to pour them upon the face of the earth through a thousand channels. It is then, perhaps, that the divinity contemplates his work with satisfaction, and does not repent himself of having made man,

SUCH is the image of commerce; let us now admire the genius of the trader. The same understanding that Newton had to calculate the motion of the stars, he exerts in tracing the motions of the commercial people that fertilize the earth. His problems are the more difficult to resolve, as the circumstances of them are not taken from the immutable laws of nature, as the systems of the geometrician are; but depend upon the caprices
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of men, and uncertainty of a thousand events. That accurate spirit of combination that Cromwell and Richelieu must have had, the one to destroy, the other, to establish despotic monarchy ; the trader also possesses and carries it further : for he takes in both worlds at one view, and directs his operations upon an infinite variety of relative considerations, which it is seldom given to the statesman, or even to the philosopher, to comprehend and estimate. Nothing must escape him, he must foresee the influence of the seasons, upon the plenty, the scarcity, and the quality of provisions ; upon the departure or return of his ships ; the influence of political affairs upon those of commerce ; the changes which war or peace must necessarily occasion in the prices and run of merchandize, in the quantity and choice of provisions, in the state of the cities and ports of the whole world ; he must know the consequences that an alliance of the two northern nations may have under the torrid zone ; the progress, either towards aggrandizement or decay, of the several trading companies ; the counter stroke that the fall of any European power in India, may give to Africa and America ; the stagnation that may be produced in certain countries, by the blocking up of some channels of industry ; the reciprocal connection there is between most branches of trade, and the mutual assistances they lend, by the temporary injuries they seem to inflict upon each other ; he must know the proper time to begin, and when to stop in all new undertakings : in a word, he must know the art of making all other nations tributary to his own, and to make his own fortune with that of his country, or rather to enrich himself by extending the general prosperity of mankind. Such are the objects that the profession of the merchant embraces.

ABOVE all, it is the trader's peculiar business to pry into the depths of the human heart, and to treat with his equals in appearance, as if they were honest, but, in reality, as if they were men of no probity. Commerce is a science that requires at the same time the knowledge of men and things. The difficulty of the science, it must be acknowledged, is less owing to the multiplicity of objects, than to the rapaciousness of those who profess it. If emulation increases a concurrence of efforts, jealousy prevents the success of them. If interest is the vice that destroys professions in general, what must be its effects upon that profession, which owes its existence to that principle? Its own eagerness destroys it. The thirst of gain spreads over a commerce a spirit of avarice that contracts every thing, even the means of amassing.

ARE merchants to be blamed for that rivalry of governments which restrains general industry by reciprocal prohibitions; or is the censure to fall on the tyranny of authority, which, in order to acquire gain without the trouble of commerce, confines all the classes of industry by corporations? Certainly on the latter; for all these societies stifle the very life of commerce, which is liberty. To compel the indigent man to pay for the privilege of working, is to condemn him at once to idleness by indigence, and to indigence by idleness; it is to diminish the sum total of national labour; to impoverish the people by enriching the treasury; and to annihilate them both.

THE jealousy of trade between states is nothing more than a secret conspiracy to ruin each other, without enriching one. Those who govern the people, exert the same skill in defending themselves from the industry of the nations, as in preserving themselves from the intrigues of the great. One single mean and wicked man is able to introduce a hundred restraints into Europe. New chains

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chains are forged as fast as destructive weapons. Prohibitions in commerce, and extortions in the finance, have given rise to smugglers and galley slaves, to customs and monopolies, to pirates and excisemen. Centinels and obstacles are placed in all parts of the sea and of the land. The traveller enjoys no quiet, the merchant no property; both the one and the other are exposed to all the snares of an insidious legislation, that mingles the offence with the prohibition, and the penalty with the offence. A man becomes culpable without knowing it, or without meaning to be so: he is arrested, plundered and taxed, though he is all the while innocent. The rights of the people are violated by their protectors; the rights of the citizen are invaded by the citizen: the courtier is perpetually tormenting the statesman; and the contractor vexes the merchant. Such is the state of commerce in time of peace. But what shall we say of commercial wars?

It is natural enough, that a people pent up in the icy regions of the north, should wrest iron from the earth that refuses them subsistence; and should go sword in hand to reap the harvest of another nation: hunger, which knows no laws, cannot violate any, and seems to plead an excuse for these hostilities. They must necessarily live by carnage, when they have no corn. But, when a nation enjoys the privilege of an extensive commerce, and can furnish to the support of several other states from the superfluity of their own riches; what motive can induce them to declare war against other industrious nations; to obstruct their navigation and their labours; in a word, to forbid them to live on pain of death? Why do they arrogate to themselves an exclusive branch of trade, a right of fishing and sailing, as if it were a matter of property, and as if the sea were to be

be divided into acres as well as the land? We can certainly find out the motives of such wars; we know that the jealousy of commerce is nothing more than a jealousy of power. But have any people the right to obstruct a work they cannot execute themselves, and to condemn another nation to indolence, because they chuse to devour themselves to it?

How unnatural and contradictory an expression is a war of commerce! Commerce nourishes, but war destroys. Commerce may, possibly, give rise to war, and keep it up; but war cuts off all the sources of commerce. Whatever one nation may gain upon another in commerce, it is a source of industry and emulation for them both: in war, it turns out to be a mutual loss; for plunder, fire and sword neither improve lands, or enrich mankind. The wars of commerce are so much the more fatal, as by the present influence of the sea over the land, and of Europe over the three other parts of the world, the conflagration becomes general; and that the dissensions of two maritime powers excite the spirit of discord among all their allies, and occasion inactivity even among the neutral powers.

COASTS and seas tinged with blood and covered with carcases; the thunders of war reaching from pole to pole, between Africa, Asia and America, as well throughout the sea that separates us from the new world, as throughout the vast extent of the Pacific ocean: such is the spectacle exhibited in the two last wars in which all the powers of Europe have been alternately shaken, or have distinguished themselves by some great stroke. Nevertheless the earth was depopulated, and commerce did not repair the loss; the lands were exhausted by taxes, and the channels of navigation did not assist the progress of agriculture. The loans of the state ruined
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the fortunes of the citizens beforehand by usurious profits, the forerunners of bankruptcy. Even those powers that were victorious bent under the weight of their conquests, and seizing upon a greater extent of land than they could keep or cultivate, involved themselves in the ruin of their enemies. The neutral powers who were desirous of enriching themselves in peace, in the midst of this commotion received and put up with insults more disgraceful than the defeats of an open war.

How highly absurd are those commercial wars, equally injurious to all the nations concerned, without being advantageous to such as are not engaged in them; those wars where the sailors become soldiers, and the merchant ships are turned into privateers; where the traffic between the mother countries and their colonies is interrupted, and the price of their reciprocal commodities is raised!

WHAT a source of political abuses are those treaties of commerce which become the seeds of war! Those exclusive privileges which one nation acquires of another, either for a traffic of luxury, or for the necessaries of life! A general liberty granted to industry and commerce is the only treaty which a maritime power should enforce at home, or negotiate abroad. A nation that would take this step, would be the benefactor of the human race. The more labour was encouraged upon land, and the greater number of ships there were at sea, so much the more would such a people enjoy the advantages aimed at by negotiations and by war. For there will be no increase of riches in any country, if there be no industry among its neighbours, who can acquire nothing but by articles of exchange, or by the means of gold and silver. But without commerce and industry there can be no metals, nor manufactures of value; nor can either of these springs of riches exist without liberty.

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The indolence of one nation is prejudicial to all the rest, either by increasing their labour, or by depriving them of what it ought to produce. The effect of the present system of commerce and industry is the total subversion of order.

THE want of the fine fleeces of Spain is retrieved by the flocks of England, and the silk manufactures of Italy are improved even in Germany; the wines of Portugal might be improved, were it not for the exclusive privileges granted to a particular company. The high grounds of the north and south would be sufficient to supply Europe with wood and metals, and the vallies would of course produce a greater plenty of corn and fruits. Manufactures would be raised in barren countries, if these could be supplied with plenty of the necessaries of life by a free circulation. Whole provinces would not be left uncultivated in the heart of a country in order to fertilize some unwholesome morasses, where, while the people are supported by the productions of the land, the influence of the air and the water tends to their destruction. We should not see all the rich produce of commerce confined to particular cities of a large kingdom, as the privileges and fortunes of the whole people are to particular families. Circulation would be quicker, and the consumption be increased. Each province would cultivate its favourite production, and each family its own little field. And under every roof there would be one child to spare for the purposes of navigation, and the improvement of the arts. Europe, like China, would swarm with multitudes of industrious people. — Upon the whole, the freedom of trade would insensibly produce that universal peace which a brave but humane monarch once considered not as merely chimerical.

WHILE each man calculated his own advantage, the national system of happiness would be founded on the im-

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improvement of reason, which would prove a security of more effectual morals, than the visionary ideas of superstition. These presently disappear as soon as passions exert themselves, whilst reason gains strength and advances to maturity along with them.

Commerce.

COMMERCE, which arises naturally from agriculture, returns to it by its propensity and by its circulation: thus, the rivers return to the sea, which has produced them by the exhalation of its waters into vapours, and by the fall of those vapours into the waters. The quantity of gold brought by the transportation and consumption of the fruits of the earth, returns again at last into its bosom, and reproduces all the necessaries of life, and the materials of commerce. If the lands are not cultivated, all commerce is precarious, because it is deprived of its principal fund, which is the productions of nature. Nations that are only maritime or commercial, enjoy, it is true, the fruits of commerce; but the tree belongs to those people that are skilled in the cultivation of land. Agriculture is, therefore, the chief and real opulence of a state. This is a circumstance that had escaped the Romans in the intoxication of their conquests, which had given them all the earth without their cultivating it. It was unknown to the Barbarians, who, destroying by the sword an empire that had been established by it, abandoned to slaves the cultivation of the lands, of which they preserved to themselves the fruits and the property. This point was mistaken also, even in the age subsequent to the discovery of the East and West Indies; whether it was that in Europe the people were too much engaged in wars of ambition or religion; or, that the conquests made by Portugal and Spain beyond the seas, having brought us treasures without labour, we contented ourselves with enjoy-

ing them by luxury and the arts, without thinking of perpetuating these riches.

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BUT the time came, when plunder ceased for want of an object. When the conquered lands in the new world had been fought for and divided, it became necessary to cultivate them, and to feed the colonists of these settlements. As these were Europeans, they cultivated for Europe productions which it did not furnish, and asked in return those provisions which custom had made natural to them. In proportion as the colonies were peopled, and that the number of sailors and manufacturers increased with the increase of productions, the lands must necessarily furnish a surplus of subsistence for the increase of population; an augmentation of indigenous commodities, for foreign materials of exchange and consumption. The hard labours of navigation, and the corruption of provisions in the transport, causing a greater loss of materials and produce, the inhabitants were obliged to solicit and stir up the earth to yield her fruits in greater abundance. The consumption of American commodities, far from lessening that of European productions, served only to increase and extend it upon all the seas, in all the ports, and in all the cities where commerce and industry prevailed. Thus the people who were the most commercial, necessarily became at the same time the best cultivators.

ENGLAND first conceived the idea of this new system. She established and encouraged it by honours and premiums proposed to the planters. A medal was struck and presented to the duke of Bedford, with the following inscription; *For having planted Oak.* Triptolemus and Ceres were adored in antiquity only from similar motives; and yet temples and altars are still erected to lazy monks. The God of nature will not suffer that

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mankind should perish. He hath implanted in all generous and sublime souls, in the hearts of all people and of enlightened monarchs, this idea, that labour is the first duty of man, and that the most important of all labours is that of cultivating the land. The elogium of agriculture is in its own reward, in the satisfying of our wants. *If I had a subject who could produce two blades of corn instead of one,* said a monarch, *I should prefer him to all the men of political genius in the state.* What pity is it that such a king and such an opinion are merely the fiction of Swift's brain. But a nation that can produce such writers, must necessarily verify this beautiful sentence; and accordingly we find that England doubled the produce of its cultivation.

LED by the example of the English, all other nations that knew the value of industry, brought it back to its true origin and primary destination. After the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French, who under the administration of three cardinals, had scarce been allowed to turn their thoughts to public affairs, ventured at length to write on matters of importance, and of evident utility. The undertaking of an universal dictionary of arts and sciences, placed every great object in view, and set all men of understanding at work. The spirit of laws was published, and the boundaries of genius were extended. Natural history was written by a French Pliny, who surpassed Greece and Rome in the art of knowing and describing nature; this history, bold and great as its subject, warmed the imaginations of its readers, and attached them powerfully to contemplations, which a nation cannot relinquish, without returning into a state of barbarism. In less than twenty years, the eyes of the French nation were open to their real interests. They communicated their knowledge to government, and agriculture, if it was not

not encouraged by rewards, was, at least, patronized by some ministers.

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GERMANY hath felt the happy influence of that enlightened spirit which fertilizes the earth and multiplies its inhabitants. All the northern climates have exerted themselves to make the most of their lands. Even Spain has been active; and though deficient in natives, has at least engaged foreign husbandmen to labour in her uncultivated provinces.

It is a singular and yet a natural circumstance, that men should have returned to the first of the arts only after having gone through all the rest. It is the common progression of the human mind, not to regain the right path, till after it hath exhausted itself in pursuing false tracks. It is always going forwards; and as it relinquished agriculture, to follow the road of commerce and luxury, it went rapidly round the circle, and returned at last into the nursery of all the arts, where it fixed its residence, from the same motives of interest that had made it quit it before. Thus the eager and curious man, who banishes himself from his country in his youth, tired with running about the world, returns at last to live and die under his native roof.

EVERY thing, indeed, depends upon, and arises from the cultivation of land. It forms the internal strength of states; and draws riches into them from without. Every power which comes from any other source except the land, is artificial and precarious, either in natural or moral philosophy. Industry and commerce which do not act immediately upon the agriculture of a country, are in the power of foreign nations, who may either dispute these advantages through emulation, or deprive the country of them through envy. This may be done either by establishing the same branch of indus-

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try among themselves, or by suppressing the exportation of their own unwrought materials, or the importation of those materials in manufacture. But a state well manured, and well cultivated, produces men by the fruits of the earth, and riches by those men. This is not the teeth which the dragon sows to bring forth soldiers to destroy each other, it is the milk of Juno, which peoples the heavens with an innumerable multitude of stars.

THE government; therefore, owes its support to the countries rather than to the cities. The first are mothers and nurses always fruitful; the others are nothing more than daughters often ungrateful and barren. The cities can scarce subsist but from the superfluous part of the population and produce of the countries. Even the fortified places and ports of trade, which seem to be connected with the whole world, by their ships, which diffuse more riches than they possess, do not, however, attract all the treasures they dispense, but by the produce of the countries that surround them. The tree, must therefore, be watered at its root. The cities will only be flourishing in proportion as the fields are fruitful.

BUT this fertility depends less upon the soil than upon the inhabitants. Spain and even Italy, though situated under a climate the most favourable to agriculture, produce less than France or England; because the efforts of nature are impeded in a thousand ways by the form of their government. In all parts where the people are attached to the country by property, by the security of their funds and revenues, the lands will flourish and prosper. In all parts where the privileges are not confined to the cities, and the labours to the countries, every proprietor will be fond of the inheritance of his ancestors, will increase and embellish it by assiduous cultivation, and his children will be multiplied in proportion

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to his means, and his means be increased in proportion to his children. BOOK
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It is, therefore, the interest of government to favour the husbandmen, in preference to all the indolent classes of society. Nobility is but an odious distinction, when not founded upon services of real and unquestionable utility to the state; as for instance, the defence of the nation against the encroachments of conquest, and against the enterprizes of despotism. The nobles furnish only a precarious and oftentimes fatal assistance; when after having led an effeminate and licentious life in the cities, they go forth to lend a feeble defence for their country upon her fleets and in her armies, and afterwards return to court, to solicit as a reward for their baseness, places and honours, which are revolting and burthen some to the nation. The clergy are a set of men useless, at least, to the earth, even when they are employed in prayer. But when, with scandalous morals, they preach a doctrine which is rendered doubly incredible and impracticable from their ignorance and from their example; when, after having disgraced, discredited and overturned religion, by a variety of abuses, of sophisms, of injustices and usurpations, they wish to diffuse it by persecution; then this privileged, idle and turbulent set of men, become the most dreadful enemies of the state and of the nation. The only good and respectable part of them that remains, is that set of the clergy who are most despised and most burthened with duty, and who being situated among the lower class of people in the country, labour, edify, advise, comfort and relieve a multitude of unhappy persons.

THE husbandmen deserve to be preferred by government, even to the manufacturers, and the professors of either the mechanical or liberal arts. To encourage and to protect the arts of luxury, leaving the fields ne-

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glected, that source of industry which has first erected and supports them, is to forget the order of the several relations between nature and society. To favour the arts and to neglect agriculture, is to remove the basis of a pyramid in order to finish the top. The mechanical arts engage a sufficient number of hands by the attraction of the riches they procure, by the comforts they supply the workmen with, by the ease, pleasures and conveniencies that arise in cities where the several branches of industry meet. It is the rustic life that stands in need of encouragement for the hard labours it is exposed to, and of indemnification for the losses and vexations it sustains. The husbandman is placed at a distance from every object that can either excite his ambition, or gratify his curiosity. He lives in a state of separation from the distinctions and pleasures of society. He cannot give his children a polite education, without sending them far from him, nor place them in a road of fortune that may distinguish and advance them. He does not enjoy the sacrifices he makes for them, while they are educated at a distance from him. In a word, he undergoes all the troubles that nature brings, without benefiting by its pleasures, unless supported by the paternal care of government. Every thing is burdensome and humiliating to him, even the taxes, the very name of which sometimes makes his condition more wretched than any other.

MEN are naturally attached to the liberal arts by their particular genius, which makes this attachment grow up into a kind of passion; and likewise by the reputation they reflect on those who distinguish themselves in the pursuit of them. It is not possible to admire the works of genius, without esteeming and caressing the persons endowed with that valuable gift of nature. But the man devoted to a rustic life, unless he enjoys in quietness
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what he possesses, and what he gathers ; if he is incapable of improving the benefits of his condition, because the sweets of it are taken from him ; if the military service, if vassalage and taxes are to rob him of his son, his cattle, and his grain, nothing remains for him, but to curse both the sky and the land that torment him, and to abandon his fields and his country.

A wise government cannot refuse to pay its principal attention to agriculture, without destruction to itself : the most ready and effectual means of assisting it, is to favour the multiplication of its produce of every kind, by the most free and unbounded circulation.

AN indefinite liberty in the exchange of commodities, renders a people at the same time commercial and attentive to agriculture ; it extends the views of the farmer towards trade, and those of the merchant towards cultivation. It connects them by ties that are regularly kept up. All men belong equally to the villages and to the cities, and there is a reciprocal connection and communication maintained between the provinces. The circulation of commodities brings on really the golden age, in which streams of milk and honey are said to have flowed through the plains. All the lands are cultivated ; the meadows are favourable to tillage by the cattle they feed ; the growth of corn encourages that of vines, by furnishing a constant and certain subsistence to him who neither sows nor reaps, but plants, prunes and gathers his fruit.

LET us now consider the effects of a contrary system, and attempt to regulate agriculture, and the circulation of its produce by particular laws ; and let us observe what calamities will ensue. The prying interference of authority, will not only wish to know every thing that is done, but even impede the doing of it. Men will be led like their cattle, or transported like their corn ; they

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will be collected and dispersed at the nod of a tyrant to be slaughtered in the carnage of war, or to perish to no purpose upon fleets, or in different colonies. The life of a state will become its destruction. Neither the lands, nor the people, will be enabled to prosper, and the states will tend quickly to their dissolution, that is, to that separation which is always preceded by the massacre of the people, as well as their rulers. What then will become of manufactures?

Manufac-
tures.

AGRICULTURE gives birth to the arts, when it has been carried to that degree of abundance and perfection which gives men leisure to sit down, invent, and procure themselves the conveniencies of life; and when it has produced a population sufficiently numerous to be employed on other labours, besides what are due to the land. Then a people must necessarily become either soldiers, navigators, or manufacturers. As soon as war has blunted the rudeness and ferocity of a robust nation; as soon as it has nearly circumscribed the extent of an empire, those men who have been exercised in arms must then apply themselves to the management of the oar, the ropes, the scissars or the shuttle; in a word, of all the tools of commerce and industry; for the land, which kept so many men without any of their own labour, does not require them to return to the plough. As the arts ever have a country of their own, their peculiar place of refuge, where they are carried on and flourish in tranquillity, it is easier to repair thither in search of them, than to wait at home till they shall have grown up, and advanced with the tardy progression of ages, and the favour of chance which presides over the discoveries of genius. Thus every nation of Europe that has had any industry, has borrowed the most considerable share of the arts

arts from Asia. There invention seems to have been as original as mankind. BOOK
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THE beauty and fertility of those climes hath ever engendered a most numerous race of people, as well as abundance of fruits of all kinds. There, laws and arts, the offspring of genius and tranquillity, have arisen from the settled state of government; and luxury, the parent of every enjoyment that attends industry, has sprung out of the richness of the soil. India, China, Persia and Egypt were in possession not only of all the stores of nature, but also of the most brilliant inventions of art. War has frequently obliterated every monument of genius in these parts, but they revive again out of their own ruins, as well as mankind. Not unlike those laborious swarms we see perish in their hives by the wintry blast of the north, and which reproduce themselves in spring; retaining still the same love of toil and order; there are certain Asiatic nations which have still preserved the arts of luxury with their materials, notwithstanding the incursions and conquests of the Tartars.

It was in a country successively subdued by the Scythians, Romans, and Saracens, that the nations of Europe, which not even Christianity nor time could civilize, recovered the arts and sciences without searching for them. The Crusades exhausted their fanatic zeal, and threw off their barbarism at Constantinople. It was by journeying to visit the tomb of their Saviour, who was born in a manger, and died on a cross, that they acquired a taste for magnificence, pomp, and wealth. By them the Asiatic grandeur was introduced into the courts of Europe. Italy, the seat whence religion spread her empire over other countries, was the first to adopt a species of industry that was of benefit to her temples, the ceremonies of her worship, and those

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those processions which serve to keep up devotion by means of the senses, when once she has seized on the heart. Christian Rome, after having borrowed her rites from the Eastern nations, was still to draw thence their support, the splendour of wealth.

VENICE, whose gallies were ranged under the banner of liberty, could not fail of being industrious. The people of Italy raised up manufactures, and were a long time in possession of all the arts, even when the conquest of the East and West Indies had caused the treasures of the whole world to overflow in Europe. Flanders drew her handicrafts from Italy; England hers from Flanders; and France borrowed the general industry of all countries. Of the English she purchased her stocking looms, which work ten times as fast as the needle. The number of hands unoccupied from the introduction of the loom, were employed in making of lace, which was taken from the Flemings. Paris surpassed Persia in her carpets, and Flanders in her tapestry, in the elegance of her patterns, and the beauty of her dyes; and excelled Venice in the transparency and size of her mirrors. France learned to dispense with part of her Italian silks, and with English broad cloths. Germany has kept, with their iron and copper mines, the superiority in melting, tempering, and working up those metals. But the art of giving the polish and fashion to every article that can be concerned in the ornaments of luxury, and the conveniences of life, seems to belong peculiarly to the French; whether it be that they, in the vanity of pleasing others, find the means of succeeding by all the outward appearances of brilliant shew; or that in reality grace and ease are the constant attendants of a people naturally lively and gay, and who by instinct are in possession of taste,

EVERY

EVERY people given to agriculture ought to have arts **BOOK**
to employ their materials, and should multiply their **V.**
productions to maintain their artists. Were they acquainted only with the labours of the field, their industry must be confined in its cause, its means, and its effects. Having but few wants and desires, they would exert themselves but little, employ fewer hands, and work less time. Their cultivation would neither be extended nor improved. Should such a people be possessed of more arts than materials, they must fall to the mercy of strangers, who would ruin their manufactures, by sinking the price of their articles of luxury, and raising the value of their provisions. But when a people, engaged in agriculture, join industry to property, the culture of their produce to the art of working it up, they have then within themselves every thing necessary for their existence and preservation, every seed of greatness and prosperity. Such a people is endued with a power of accomplishing every thing they wish, and stimulated with the desire of acquiring every thing that is possible.

NOTHING is more favourable to liberty than the arts; it is their element, and they are, in their nature, citizens of the world. An able artist may work in every country of the world, because he works for the world in general. Talents fly every where from slavery, while soldiers find slavery, in all parts. When, through the want of toleration in the ecclesiastics, the protestants were driven out of France, they opened to themselves a refuge in every civilized state in Europe: but when the jesuits have been banished from their own country, they have found no asylum any where; not even in Italy, the nurse of monachism and intolerance.

THE arts multiply the means of acquiring fortune, and contribute by a more ample distribution of wealth

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to a more equitable repartition of property. Thus an end is put to that excessive inequality among men, the unfortunate consequence of oppression, tyranny and stupefaction of a whole people.

MANUFACTURES contribute to the advancement of knowledge and of the sciences. The torch of industry serves to enlighten at once a vast horizon. No art is single: the greater part of them have their forms, modes, instruments and elements in common. The mechanics themselves have contributed prodigiously to extend the study of mathematics. Every branch of the genealogical tree of science has unfolded itself with the progress of the arts and handicrafts. Mines, mills, cloth-works, dying, have enlarged the sphere of philosophy and natural history. Luxury has given rise to the art of enjoyment, which is entirely dependent on the liberal arts. As soon as architecture admits of ornaments without, it brings with it decorations for the inside of our houses: while sculpture and painting are at the same time at work for the embellishment and adorning of the edifice. The art of design is employed in our dress and furniture. The pencil, ever fertile in novelty, is varying without end its sketches and shades on our stuffs and our porcelain. The powers of genius are exerted in composing at leisure, master-pieces of poetry and eloquence, or those happy systems of policy and philosophy, which restore to the people their natural rights; and to sovereigns all their glory, which consists in reigning over the heart and the mind, over the opinion and will of their subjects, by the means of reason and equity.

THEN it is that the arts produce that spirit of society which constitutes the happiness of civil life, which gives relaxation to the more serious occupations, by entertainments, shews, concerts, conversations, in short,

short, by every species of agreeable amusement. Ease gives to every virtuous enjoyment an air of liberty, which connects and mingles the several ranks of men. Business adds a value or a charm to the pleasures that are its recompence. Every citizen, assured of his subsistence, by the produce of his industry, has leisure for all the agreeable or toilsome occupations of life, as well as that repose of mind which leads on to the sweets of sleep. Nor but avarice makes many victims, but still less than war or religious zeal; the continual scourges of an idle people.

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NEXT to the cultivation of the land, that of the arts then is most fitted for man. At present both the one and the other make up the strength of civilized governments. If the arts have tended to weaken mankind, then the weaker people must have prevailed over the strong; for the balance of Europe is in the hands of the nations, who are in possession of the arts.

SINCE Europe has been overspread with manufactures, the human heart, as well as the mind, have changed their bent and disposition. The desire of wealth has arisen in all parts from the love of pleasure. We no longer see any people who consent to be poor, because poverty is no longer the bulwark of liberty. We are forced, indeed, to confess, that the arts in this world supply the place of virtues. Industry may produce vices; but, however, it banishes those of idleness, which are a thousand times more dangerous. As information gradually dispels every species of fanaticism, men being employed for the occasions of luxury, do not destroy one another through superstition. At least, human blood is not spilt without some appearance of interest; and war, probably, cuts off only those fierce and violent beings that are produced in every state; enemies to and disturbers of all order, without any other talent, any other

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other propensity than that of doing mischief: The arts restrain that spirit of dissention, by subjecting man to stated and daily employments: They bestow on every rank of life the means and the hopes of enjoyment, and give even the meanest a kind of estimation and importance by the utility they confer. A workman at forty has been of more real value to the state than a whole family of vassals who were employed in tillage under the old feudal system. An opulent manufacture brings more benefit into a village than twenty castles of anti-ent barons, whether hunters or warriors, ever conferred on their province.

If it be a fact, that in the present state of things those who are the most industrious, ought to be the most happy and the most powerful people, either because, in wars that are unavoidable, they furnish of themselves, or purchase by their wealth, more soldiers, more ammunition, more forces, both for sea or land service; or that, having a greater interest in maintaining peace, they escape broils, or terminate them by negotiation; or that, in case of a defeat, they more readily repair their losses by dint of labour; or that they are happy in the enjoyments of a more mild, and more enlightened government, notwithstanding the means of corruption and slavery that tyranny is supplied with by the effeminacy which luxury produces; in a word, if the arts really civilize nations, a state ought to neglect no opportunity of making manufactures flourish.

THIS circumstance depends on the climate, which, as Polybius says, forms the figure, complexion and manners of nations. The most temperate climate must necessarily be the most favourable to that kind of industry, which is of a sedentary cast. If the climate is too hot, it is inconsistent with the establishment of manufactures, which require the concurrence of several persons together

together to carry on the same work; and excludes all those arts which require furnaces, or strong lights. If the climate prove too cold, it is not proper for those arts which can only be carried on in the open air. At too great or too small a distance from the equator, man is unfit for several labours, which seem peculiarly adapted to a mild temperature. In vain did Peter the Great go to search among the best regulated states for such arts as could humanize his country: during a period of fifty years, not one of all those principles has been able to take root among the frozen regions of Russia. All artists are strangers in that land, and if they think of taking up their residence there, their talents and their works soon die along with them. When Lewis the XIVth, in his old age, as if that was the time of life for proscription, persecuted the protestants, it was to no purpose that they introduced their arts and trades among the people who received them; they were no longer able to work in the same manner as they had done in France. Though they were equally active and laborious, their art pined or decayed, for want of being warmed or lighted up by the same rays of the sun.

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To the favourable disposition of climate, for the encouragement of manufactures, should be united the advantage of the political situation of the state. When it is of such extent as to have nothing to fear or cover in point of security: when it is in the neighbourhood of the sea for the landing of materials, and the vent of what is worked up: when it is situated between powers who have iron mines to employ its industry, and others that have mines of gold to reward it; when it has nations on each side with ports and roads open on every quarter; such a state will have all the external advantages necessary to excite a people to open a variety of manufactures.

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BUT one advantage still more essential is fertility of soil. If cultivation requires too many hands, workmen cannot be supplied, or the workshop will depopulate the fields; whence it must happen that the dearness of provisions, while it raises the price of workmanship, will also diminish the number of handicrafts.

WHERE fertility of soil is wanting, manufactures require, at least, frugality. A nation that should expend much on its mere subsistence would absorb the whole profits of its industry. If indulgence either exceeds the pace or degree of labour, it is lost at its very source; it withers and dries up the trunk that is to convey sap to it. If the workman will feed and clothe himself like the manufacturer who employs him, the manufacture is soon ruined. The degree of frugality that republican nations adhere to from motives of virtue, the manufacturer ought to observe from views of parsimony. This may be the reason, perhaps, that the arts, even those of luxury, are more adapted to republics than monarchies; for under monarchical institutions, poverty is not always the sharpest spur with the people to industry. Labour, proceeding from hunger is narrow and confined like the appetite it springs from; but the work that arises from ambition spreads and increases as naturally as the vice itself.

NATIONAL character has much influence over the progress of the arts relative to luxury and ornament. A particular people is fitted for invention by that levity which naturally inclines them to novelty. The same nation is fitted for the arts, by their vanity, which inclines them to the ornament of dress. Another nation less lively has less taste for trivial matters, and is not fond of changing fashions. Being of a more serious turn they are more inclined to the debauch of the table and to intoxication that frees them at once from all their enemies.

enemies. Of these nations, the one must succeed better than its rival in the arts of decoration, and must have the preference over it among all the other nations which are fond of the same arts.

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THE advantages which manufactures derive from nature, are further seconded by the form of government. While industry is favourable to national liberty, that in return should assist industry. Exclusive privileges are enemies to commerce and the arts, which are to be encouraged only by competition. Even the rights of apprenticeship, and the value set on corporations, are a kind of monopoly. The state is prejudiced by that sort of privilege, which favours incorporated trades; that is, petty communities are protected at the expence of the greater body. By taking from the lower class of the people the liberty of choosing the profession that suits them, every profession is filled with bad workmen. Such as require greater talents are exercised by those who have the most money; the meaner, and less expensive, fall often to the share of men born to excel in a distinguished art. Employed in a way for which they have no taste, both the one and the other neglect their work, and prejudice the art: the first, because they are beneath it; the latter, because they are convinced of their being above it. But if we remove the impediment of corporate bodies, we shall produce a rivalry in the workmen, and consequently, abundance and perfection in the work.

It may be a question, whether it be beneficial to collect manufactures in large towns, or to disperse them over the country. This point is determined by facts. The arts of primary necessity have remained where they were first produced, in those places which have furnished the materials. Forges are in the neighbourhood of the mine, and linen near the flax. But the complicated

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arts of industry and luxury cannot be inhabitants of the country. If we disperse over a large extent of territory all the arts, which are combined in watch and clock-making, we shall ruin Geneva with all the works that support it. The perfection of stuffs requires their being made in a town, where fine dyes may at once be united with beautiful patterns, and the art of working up woollens and silks with that of making gold and silver lace. If there are wanting eighteen hands to make a pin, through how many handicrafts, how many artificers must a laced coat, or an embroidered waistcoat pass? How shall we be able to find amidst an interior central province the immense apparatus of arts that contribute to the furnishing of a palace, or the festal entertainments of a court. We must confine then, or rather retain in the country, such innocent and simple arts as flourish unconnected with others; and work up in the provinces the common cloths for cloathing the populace. We must establish between the capital and the other towns a reciprocal dependence of wants and conveniences, of materials and works; but still nothing must be done by authority or compulsion, workmen must be left to act for themselves. Let there be freedom of traffic, and freedom of industry; and manufactures will prosper, population will increase.

Popula-
tion.

Has the world been more peopled at one time than another? This is not to be known from history; because half the habited globe has had no historians, and half history is full of falsities. Who has ever taken or could at any time take an account of the inhabitants of the earth? She was, it is said, more fruitful in her younger days. But where is that golden age? Is it when a dry sand arises from the bed of the sea, and comes to purge itself in the rays of the sun; is it then that the slime produces

duces vegetables, animals and human creatures? But the whole surface of the earth must alternately have been covered by the ocean. The earth has then always had, like the individuals of every species, an infant state, a state of weakness and sterility before she arrived at the age of fecundity. All countries have been for a long time buried under water, laying uncultivated beneath sands and morasses, wild and overgrown with bushes and forests, till the human species, being thrown by accident on these deserts and solitudes, has cleared, altered and peopled the land. But as all the causes of population are subordinate to those natural laws which govern the universe, as well as to the influences of soil and atmosphere, which are subject to a number of calamities, it must ever have varied with those periods of nature that have been either adverse or favourable to the increase of mankind. However, as the lot of every species seems in a manner to depend on its faculties, it is in the history of the unfolding of human industry that we must search in general for the history of the population of the earth. On this ground of calculation, it is, at least doubtful, whether the world was formerly better inhabited and more peopled than at present.

LET us leave Asia under the veil of that antiquity which reports it to us ever covered with innumerable nations, and swarms of people so prodigious that (notwithstanding the fertility of a soil which stands in need but of one ray of the sun to enable it to produce all sorts of fruits) men did but just make their appearance, succeeding one another in their generations, like torrents, and were swallowed up either by famine, pestilence or war. Let us dwell some time on the subject of Europe, which seems to have taken the place of Asia, by conferring upon art all the power of nature.

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IN order to decide whether our continent was, of old, more inhabited than in our times, it is sufficient to examine, whether it was then more cultivated. Do any traces remain among us of plantations that have been abandoned? What coast is there where men could land, what country that was accessible that is at present without inhabitants? If discoveries are made of the ruins of old towns, it is beneath the foundations of cities as large as the former. But should even Italy and Spain have fallen off from their ancient population, to what a degree are not the other states of Europe increased in the number of their inhabitants? What were those multitudes of people which Cæsar reckoned up in Gaul, but a sort of savage nations more formidable in name than in number? All those Britains, who were subdued in their island by two Roman legions, were they much more numerous than the Corsicans at present? Germany, indeed, as it should seem, must have been extremely well peopled, as she alone brought into subjection, in the compass of two or three centuries, the finest moiety of Europe. But we must observe, these were the people of a territory ten times as large who possessed themselves of a country stocked by three or four nations; and that it was not owing to the number of her conquerors, but to the revolt of her subjects, that the Roman empire was destroyed and reduced to subjection. In this astonishing revolution, we may readily admit that the victorious nations did not amount to one twentieth part of those that were conquered; because the former made their attacks with half their numbers of real people, and the latter employed no more than the hundredth part of their effective inhabitants in their defence. But a people, who fight entirely for themselves, are more powerful than ten armies raised by kings and princes.

BESIDES,

BESIDES, those long and bloody wars, of which ancient history is full, are destructive of that excessive population they seem to prove. If on the one hand the Romans took pains to repair at home the losses their victories made in their forces, the very spirit of conquest which possessed them, consumed, at least, other nations; for no sooner had they made the conquest of any people than they incorporated them into their own armies, and undermined their strength in a double proportion, as much by recruits as by tribute. It is well known with what rage wars were carried on by the ancients: that often in a siege, the whole town was laid in ashes; men, women and children perished in the flames rather than fall under the dominion of the conqueror; that in assaults, every inhabitant was put to the sword; that in regular engagements, every one was better pleased to die, sword in hand, than to be led in triumph, and be condemned to perpetual slavery. Were not these barbarous customs of war injurious to population? If, as we must allow, some victims were saved by slavery, this was but of little service to the increase of mankind, as it established in a state an extreme inequality of condition among beings by nature equal. If the division of societies into small colonies or states was adapted to multiply families by the partition of lands; it likewise often occasioned reciprocal quarrels among the nations; and as these small states touched one another, as it were, in an infinite number of points, in order to defend them, every inhabitant was obliged to take up arms. It is owing to their size that large bodies resist motion; small bodies are in a perpetual agitation, which shatters them to pieces.

If war was destructive of population in antient times, it was not always peace that could restore it. Formerly, all nations were ruled by despotic or aristocratic power,

and these two forms of government are by no means propitious to the increase of the human species. The free cities of Greece were guided by laws so complicated, that there were continual dissensions among the citizens. Even the populace, who had no right of suffrage, did not fail to give the law in the public meetings, where a man of talents with his eloquence was enabled to set so many persons in commotion. Besides, in these states population tended to concentrate itself within the city, in conjunction with ambition, power, riches, and in short all the effects and springs of liberty. Not but that the lands under the democratical states must have been well cultivated and well peopled. But the democracies were few; and as they all had ambitious views, and had no other means of increasing their grandeur besides war, except only Athens, whose commerce, indeed, was also owing to the force of arms, the earth could not long flourish, and produce population. In a word, Greece and Italy were at least the only countries better peopled than they are at present.

EXCEPT in Greece, which repelled, restrained, and subdued Asia; except in Carthage, which appeared on the borders of Africa, and soon sank again into nothing; except in Rome, which brought into subjection and destroyed the known world; where do we find a state of population that bears any comparison with what a traveller meets with at this day on every sea coast, along all the great rivers, and on the roads to capital cities. What vast forests are turned to tillage; what harvests are waving in the place of reeds that covered marshy grounds?—What numbers of civilized people, who subsist on dried fish, and salted provisions?

IN the police, in the morals, and in the politics of the moderns we may discern many causes of propagation
that

that did not exist among the antients : but at the same time we observe likewise some inconveniencies which may hinder or diminish among us that sort of progress, which, in our species, should be most conducive to its being raised to the height of perfection. For men will never be more numerous, unless they are more happy.

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POPULATION depends in a great measure on the distribution of landed property. Families multiply in the same manner as their possessions, and when they are too large, the exorbitancy of them always stops the increase. A man of large property, working only for himself, sets apart one half of his lands for his income, and the other for his pleasures. All he appropriates to hunting is a double loss in point of cultivation, for he breeds cattle on the land that should belong to men, instead of subsisting men on the land which belongs to animals. Wood is necessary in a country for repairs and fuel : but is there any occasion for so many avenues in a park ; or for parterres, and kitchen gardens of such a size as belong to a large house ? In this case, does luxury, which in its magnificence affords sustenance to the arts, prove as favourable to the increase of mankind, as it might by employing the land to better purposes ? Too many large estates, therefore, and too few small ones ; this is the first impediment to population.

THE next obstacle, is the unalienable domains of the clergy : when so much property remains for ever in the same hands, how shall population flourish, when it owes its birth singly to the improvement of lands by the increase of shares among real proprietors. What interest has the incumbent to add a value to an estate he is not to transmit to any successor, to sow or plant for a posterity not derived from himself. Far from diminishing his income to improve his lands, will he not rather risque

B O O K the impairing of his living, in order to increase the rents
 V. which he is to enjoy only for life?

THE entails of estates in noble families are not less prejudicial to the propagation of the species. They lessen at once both the nobility and the other ranks of people. Just as primogeniture sacrifices the younger children to the interest of the elder branch; entails destroy several families for the sake of a single one. Almost all entailed estates fail in their culture by the negligence of a proprietor who is not attached to a possession he is not to dispose of, which has been ceded to him only with regret, and which is already given to his successors, who are not to be his heirs, because they are not named by him. The right of primogeniture, and entail, is then a law, one may say, made on purpose to defeat the increase of population in any state.

FROM the two first obstacles to population produced by the defect of legislation, there arises a third, which is the poverty of the people. Wherever the farmers have not the property of the ground-rent their life is miserable, and their condition precarious. Not being certain of their subsistence, which depends on their health, having but small reliance on their strength, which they are obliged to sell, and cursing the day of their birth, they are afraid of breeding a race of wretched beings. It is a mistake to think that plenty of children are produced in the country, when there die as many, if not more, than are born every year. The toil of the father, and the milk of the mother are lost to them, and to their children; for they will never come to the prime of life, to that state of maturity which by its produce is to recompence all the pains of bringing them up. With a small portion of land, the mother might bring up her child, and cultivate her own little garden, while the father at the expence of his labour

bour abroad, might improve the conveniencies of the family. Not having any property, these three beings pine from the smallness of the gains of the single person, or the child perishes from the toils of the mother.

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WHAT evils arise from a faulty or defective legislation? Calamities are abundant, they are multiplied only to destroy the whole, and grow one out of another, till the system is totally annihilated. The indigence of the country produces an increase of troops, a burden ruinous in its nature, destructive of men in time of war, and of land in time of peace. It is certain that the military are the ruin of lands they do not assist in cultivating; because every soldier deprives the public of a labourer, and burthens it with an idle or useless consumer. He defends the country in time of peace, merely from a pernicious system, which under the pretext of defence makes all nations aggressors. If all governments would, as they easily might, leave to assist in cultivation the hands they rob it of by an army, population in a short time would considerably increase the number of labourers and artists throughout Europe. All the powers of human industry would be exerted in improving the advantages of nature, and in getting the better of her difficulties; every thing would concur in promoting existence, not in spreading destruction.

THE deserts of Russia would be cleared, and the plains of Poland not laid waste. The vast dominions of the Turks, would be cultivated, and the blessing of their prophet would spread itself over an immense system of population. Egypt, Syria, and Palestine would again become what they were in the times of the Phœnicians, in the days of their shepherd kings, and of the Jews who enjoyed happiness and peace under their judges. The parched mountains of Sierra Morena would be rendered fertile,

BOOK V. fertile, the heaths of Aquitania would be cleared of insects and be covered with people.

BUT general good is merely the delusive dream of benevolent persons. This brings to my remembrance the virtuous prelate of Cambray, and the good Abbé of St. Pierre. Their works are composed for the peopling of wildernesses, not with hermits who fly from the vices and misfortunes of the world, but with happy families, who would proclaim the glory of God upon earth, as the stars declare it in the firmament. It is in their writings that life and humanity are to be found, in their writings, which are truly inspired; for humanity is the gift of heaven. Kings will insure the attachment of their people, in proportion as they themselves are attached to such men.

NEED it be mentioned that one of the means to favour population is to suppress the celibacy of the regular and secular clergy. Monastic institutions have a reference to two æras remarkable in the history of the world. About the year 700 of Rome, a new religion sprang up in the east with the Messiah, and with Paganism the Roman empire quickly decayed. Two or three hundred years after the death of the Messiah, Egypt and Palestine were filled with Monks. About the year 700 of the christian æra, a new religion appeared in the east, with Mahomet, and christianity turned into Europe, in order to settle itself there. Three or four hundred years afterwards, there arose swarms of religious orders. At the time of the birth of Christ, the books of David and those of the Sybil announced the downfall of the world, a deluge or an universal conflagration, the judgment of mankind: and all the world, oppressed by the dominion of the Romans, wished and believed in a general dissolution. A thousand years after the christian æra, the
books

books of David and those of the Sybil still announced the last judgment : and several penitents, as ferocious and wild in their extravagant piety as in their sins, sold all their possessions to go to conquer and die upon the tomb of their Redeemer. The nations groaning under the tyranny of the feudal government wished for and still believed in the end of the world.

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WHILE one part of the christian world, struck with terror, went to perish in the Crusades, another part were burying themselves in cloysters. This was the origin of the monastic life in Europe. Opinion created monks, opinion will destroy them. Their property will remain behind them in society for the production of families : and all those hours, that are lost in praying without devotion, will be dedicated to their primitive intention, which is labour. The clergy are to remember that in the sacred scriptures, God says to man in innocence, increase and multiply : to man in sin, labour and toil. If the duties of the priesthood seem to forbid the priest having the charge of a family, and of an estate, the duties of society more loudly proscribe celibacy. If the monks of old times cleared the deserts they inhabited ; they now contribute to depopulate the towns where they swarm : if the clergy has subsisted on the alms of the people, they in their turn reduce the people to beggary. Among the idle classes of society, the most prejudicial is that, which, on its own principles, must lead men to idleness ; which wastes at the altar as well the work of the bees, as the salary of the workmen ; which burns in day-time the candles of the night, and makes men lose in the church that time they owe to the care of their household, which engages men to ask of heaven the subsistence that the ground only can give, or produce in return for their toil.

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THERE is still another cause of the depopulation of some states; which is, that want of toleration which persecutes and proscribes every religion but that of the prince on the throne. It is a species of oppression and tyranny peculiar to modern politics to extend its influence even over mens thoughts and consciences: it is a cruel kind of piety, which, for the sake of exterior forms of worship, derogates, in some measure, from the Deity himself, by destroying multitudes of his worshippers: it is an impiety still more barbarous, that for matters so indifferent as religious ceremonies must appear, defeats a thing so essential as the life of man, and the population of states ought to be. For neither the number nor the allegiance of subjects is increased by exacting oaths contrary to conscience, by forcing into secret perjury those who are engaged in the marriage ties, or in the different professions of a citizen. Unity in religion is proper only when it is naturally established by conviction. As soon as that ceases, one way to set mens minds at rest, is to leave them at liberty. When conviction is equal, complete and entire, with regard to every citizen, it can never give any disturbance to the peace of families.

NEXT to the celibacy among the ecclesiastics and that among the military, the one from profession, the other from custom, there is a third, of convenience, introduced by luxury. I mean that of life annuitants. Here we may admire the chain of causes. At the same time that commerce favours population through industry by land and sea, by means of all the objects and operations of navigation, and by the several arts of cultivation and manufactures, it lessens that same population by means of all the vices which luxury introduces. When riches have gained the ascendent over the minds of men, then opinions and manners alter by the intermixture of ranks.

ranks. The arts and the talents of pleasing corrupt society, while they polish it. When the intercourse between the sexes becomes frequent, they mutually seduce one another, and the weaker leads away the more strong in the frivolous turn for dress and amusement. The women become childish and the men effeminate. Entertainments are the sole subject of their talk, and the object of their occupation. The manly and robust exercises, which disciplined the youth and trained them for the important and hazardous professions, give place to the love of public shows, where every passion that can render a nation effeminate is caught, so long as the patriotic spirit is wanting. Indolence gains among the ranks that need not work, and among those that should, less business is done. The improvement of arts multiplies fashions, these increase our expences, articles of luxury become wants, superfluity takes the place of the needful, and people dress better, but do not live so well; and purchase clothes at the expence of the necessaries of life. The lower class of men grow acquainted with debauchery before they are with love, and marrying later, have fewer or weaker children: the tradesman looks out for a fortune not a wife, and beforehand deprives himself of both by his libertinism. The rich, married or not, go on continually seducing women of every condition, or debauching poor girls. The difficulty of supporting the charges of marriage, and the readiness of finding the joys of it without bearing any of its disagreeable inconveniencies, tends to increase the number of unmarried people in every class. The man, who gives up being the father of a family, spends his patrimony, and in concert with the state which doubles his yearly income, by borrowing of him at a ruinous interest, he melts several generations into one: he extinguishes posterity as much in the married women, by whom

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whom he is rewarded, as in the girls whom he hires. Every kind of prostitution is drawn on at once. Honour and duty is forfeited in every rank; the ruin of the women is but the forerunner of that of the men.

THE nation that is inclined to gallantry, or rather to libertinism, is not long before it is undone abroad, as well as subdued at home. There is no longer any nobility, no longer any body of men to defend their own or the people's rights; for every where division and self-interest prevails. No one wishes to be ruined alone. The love of riches being the only allurements, the honest man is apprehensive of losing his fortune, and the man of no honour is intent upon making his: the one retires, the other sets himself up to sale, and the state is ruined. Such are infallibly the steps commerce takes in its progress under a monarchy. What its effects are in a republic we know from antient history. But still it is necessary at this time to lead men to commerce, because the present situation of Europe is favourable to it, and commerce itself is favourable to population.

BUT it will be asked whether a great degree of population is of use to promote the happiness of mankind. This is an idle question. In fact, the point is not to multiply men, in order to make them happy; but it is sufficient to make them happy, that they should multiply. All the means which concur in the prosperity of any state, tend of themselves to the propagation of its people. A legislator who should desire people only to have soldiers, and subjects only for the purpose of subduing his neighbours, would be a monster, and an enemy to the human race, since he would create merely with a view to destroy. A legislator, on the contrary, who like Solon, should form a republic, whose multitudes might go and people the desert coasts of the sea; or who like

like Penn, should make laws for the cultivation of his colony, and forbid war, such a legislator would undoubtedly be considered as a God on earth. Even though his name should not be immortalized, he would live in happiness, and die contented, especially if he could be certain of leaving behind him laws of such wisdom as to free his people for ever from the vexation of taxes.

A TAX may be defined, a sacrifice of one part of one's property for the preservation of the other: from hence it follows, that there should not be any tax either among people in a state of slavery, or among savages: for the former have no longer any property, and the latter have not yet acquired any. Taxes.

BUT when a nation enjoys any large and valuable property, when its fortune is sufficiently established, and is considerable enough to require expences of government, when it has possessions, trade, and wealth capable of tempting the cupidity of its neighbours who may be poor or ambitious; then, in order to guard its frontiers, or its provinces, to protect its navigation, and keep up its police, there is a necessity for forces and for a revenue. It is but just and indispensable, that the persons who are employed in any manner for the public good, should be maintained by all the other orders of the confederate society.

THERE have been countries and times, in which a portion of the territory has been assigned for the public expences of the body of the state. The government not being enabled of itself to turn such extensive possessions to advantage, was forced to entrust this charge to administrators, who either neglected the revenues, or appropriated them to their own use. This practice brought on still greater inconveniencies. Either the royal domains were too considerable in time of peace, or insufficient for the

the calls of war. In the first instance, the liberty of the state was oppressed by the ruler of it, and in the latter, by strangers. It has, therefore, been found necessary to have recourse to the contributions of the citizens.

THESE funds were in early times not considerable. The tribute consisted merely in a reimbursement given by the public to those persons whom public concerns diverted from the employments and cares essential to their subsistence. Their reward was found in that delicious enjoyment we experience in the inward feelings of our own virtue, and upon a view of the respect paid it by other men. These moral riches were the greatest treasures of rising societies; they were a kind of coin which it as much concerned the order of government, as that of morality, not to deface.

HONOUR held the place of taxes no less in the flourishing periods of Greece, than in the infant state of societies. The patriot who served his country, did not think he had any right to destroy it. The impost, laid on by Aristides on all Greece, for the support of the war against Persia, was so moderate, that those who were to contribute, of themselves, called it *the happy fortune of Greece!* What times were these, and what a country, in which taxes made the happiness of the people!

THE Romans proceeded to dominion almost without any assistance from the public stock. The love of wealth would have diverted them from the conquest of the world. The public service was carried on without any interested views, even after their manners had been corrupted.

UNDER the feudal government, there were no taxes, for on what could they have been levied? The man and the land were both the property of the Lord. It was both a real and a personal servitude.

WHEN

WHEN light began to dawn on Europe, the nations turned their thoughts towards their own security. They voluntarily furnished contributions to repress foreign and domestic enemies. But those tributes were moderate, because princes were not yet absolute enough to divert them to the purposes of their own capricious humours, or to the advantage of their ambition.

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THE new world was discovered, and the passion for conquest seized upon every nation. That spirit of aggrandizement was not to be reconciled with the slowness of popular assemblies; and sovereigns succeeded without much trouble in appropriating to themselves more rights than they had ever enjoyed. The imposition of taxes was the most important of their usurpations, and it is that whose consequences have been the most pernicious.

PRINCES have ventured even to stamp the marks of servitude upon the people's brows, by levying a poll-tax. Independent of the humiliation it brings with it, can any thing be more arbitrary than such a tax?

Is the tax to be levied upon voluntary information? But this would require between the monarch and his subjects a moral conscience which should unite them by a mutual love of the general good; or, at least, a public conscience to inspire the one with confidence in the other, by a sincere and reciprocal communication of their intelligence, and of their sentiments. Even then, how is this public conscience to be settled, which is to serve as a torch, a guide and a rein to determine and regulate the operations of government?

Is the sanctuary of families, or the closet of the citizen to be invaded, in order to gain by surprise, and bring to light what he does not chuse to reveal, what it is often of importance to him not to discover. What an inquisition! What offensive violence! Though we should

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even arrive at the knowledge of the resources of every individual, do they not vary from one year to another with the uncertain and precarious productions of industry? Are they not lessened by the increase of children, by the decay of strength through sickness, by age, and by laborious occupations. The very faculties of the human species, that are of use and promote labour, do they not change with those vicissitudes brought by time on all things that depend on nature and fortune? The personal tax is a vexation then to the individual without common benefit. A poll-tax is a sort of slavery, oppressive to the man, without being profitable to the state.

AFTER having suffered this tax, which is a proof of despotism, or which leads to it sooner or later, imposts were then laid upon articles of consumption. Sovereigns have affected to consider this new tribute as in some measure voluntary, because it rises in proportion to the expences of the subject, which he is at liberty to increase or diminish according to his abilities, or his propensities, which are for the most part factitious.

BUT if taxation affect the commodities which are of immediate necessity, it is the height of cruelty. Previous to all the laws of society, man had a right to subsist. And is he to lose that right by the establishment of laws? To sell the productions of the earth to the people at a dear rate, is to rob them of them: it is to attack the very principle of their existence, to take from them, by a tax, the natural means of preserving it. By extorting the subsistence of the needy, the state takes from him his strength with his food. It reduces the poor man to a state of beggary; and the working man to that of idleness; it makes the unfortunate man, a rogue; that is, it brings the hungry man to the gallows through excess of misery.

IF the imposts affect commodities less necessary : how many hands lost to tillage and the arts are employed not in guarding the bulwarks of the empire, but in crowding the kingdom with an infinite number of unimportant barriers ; in embarrassing the gates and towns ; infesting the highways and roads of commerce ; and searching into cellars, granaries, and storehouses ! What a state of war between prince and people, between subject and subject ! How many prisons, gallies and gibbets for a swarm of wretches who have been urged on to fraud, to smuggling, and even to piracy by the iniquity of the revenue laws !

THE greediness of sovereigns has extended from the articles of consumption to those of traffic carried on from one state to another. Insatiable tyrants ! Will ye never understand that if ye lay duties on what ye offer to the stranger, he will buy it at a cheaper rate, he will give only the price demanded by other states : if even your own subjects were the sole proprietors of that produce you have taxed, they still would never give the law ; for in that case the demand would be for a less quantity, and the overplus would oblige them to lower the price, in order to find a vent for it.

THE duty on merchandise your government receives from its neighbours, does not stand on a more reasonable footing. The price of the goods being regulated by the competition of other countries, the duties will be paid by your subjects alone. Possibly, the raising the price of foreign produce may diminish the consumption of it, But if a less quantity of merchandise is sold to you, a less quantity will be purchased of you. Trade yields but in proportion to what it receives. It is in fact nothing more than an exchange of value for value. It is not possible then for you to oppose the current of these

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exchanges,

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WHETHER you lay duties on your own or on foreign merchandise, the industry of your subjects will necessarily suffer by it. The means of payment will be fewer, and they will have less raw materials to work up. The greater the diminution there is on the reproduction annually, the more the sum total of their labour will also be decreased. Then all the laws you can make against beggars will be ineffectual, for man must live on what is given him, if he cannot live by what he earns.

BUT what then is the mode of taxation the most proper to conciliate the public interest with the rights of individuals? It is the land-tax. An impost is with respect to the person upon whom it is charged, an annual expence. It can only, therefore, be assessed on an annual revenue; for nothing but an annual revenue can discharge an annual expence. Now there never can be any annual revenue, except that of the land. It is land only which replaces yearly what has been advanced upon it, with an overplus left to our disposal. It is some time since we have begun to be sensible of this important truth. Some men of sound understanding will one day reduce it to a demonstration: and the first government that makes this the foundation of their system, will of course be raised to a degree of prosperity unknown to all nations and all ages.

PERHAPS, there is no state in Europe at present whose situation admits of so great a change. The taxes are every where so heavy, the expences so multiplied, the wants so pressing; the public stock is so much indebted every where, that a sudden revolution in the raising of the public revenues, would infallibly alter the confidence and disturb the peace of the subject. But an enlightened
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and provident policy, will tend by slow and gradual steps towards so salutary an end. With courage and prudence she will remove every obstacle that prejudice, ignorance, and private interest might have to oppose to a system of administration, the advantages of which appear to us beyond all calculation.

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IN order that nothing may lessen the benefits of this happy innovation, it will be necessary that all lands without distinction should be subjected to taxation. The public weal is a treasure in common, wherein every individual should deposit his tribute, his service, and his abilities. Names and titles will never change the nature of men and their possessions. It would be the utmost meanness and folly to avail ourselves of distinctions received from our ancestors, in order to withdraw ourselves from the burthens of society. Every preeminence not turned to the general advantage, would be mischievous, it cannot be equitable but so far as it forms a settled engagement to devote in a more especial manner our lives and fortunes to the service of our country.

IF in our days the tax were first laid on the land, would it not necessarily be supposed that the contribution should be proportioned to the extent and fertility of the estates? Would any one dare to allege his employments, his services, his dignities, in order to screen himself from the tributes exacted by the public weal? What connexion have taxes with ranks, titles, and conditions? They are concerned only with revenue: and revenue belongs to the state, so soon as it becomes necessary for the public defence.

IT is not, however, sufficient that the impost be portioned out with equity; it is further necessary that it be proportioned to the wants of the government, which are not always the same. War hath ever required in all places

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places and in all ages more considerable expences than peace. The antients made a provision for them by their oeconomy in times of tranquillity. Since the advantages of circulation and the principles of industry have been better developed, the method of laying up currency in this way, has been proscribed. The resource of laying on extraordinary taxes has been preferred. Every state that should prohibit them would find itself obliged, in order to retard its fall, to have recourse to the methods in use at Constantinople. The Sultan, who can do every thing but augment his revenues, is constrained to give up the empire to the extortions of his delegates, that he may afterwards deprive them of what they have plundered from his subjects.

THAT taxes may not be exorbitant, they should be ordered, regulated and administered by the representatives of the people. The impost has ever depended on the property. He that is not master of the produce is not master of the field. Thus it is that among all nations tributes have never been at first laid on the proprietors but by themselves; whether the lands were parcelled out among the conquerors; whether the clergy shared them with the nobles, or whether they passed by means of commerce and industry into the hands of the generality of the citizens. Every where, those who were in possession of the lands had reserved the natural, unalienable and sacred right, of not being taxed without their own consent. If we remove this principle, there is no longer any monarchy, or any nation; there is nothing remaining but a despotic master and a herd of slaves.

Ye people, whose kings order every thing they please, read over again your own history. Ye will see that your ancestors assembled themselves and deliberated whenever a subsidy was in agitation. If the custom of doing this is

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obsolete, the right is not lost; it is recorded in Heaven, which has given the earth to mankind to possess it: it is written on the field you have taken the pains to inclose, in order to insure to yourselves the enjoyment of it: it is written in your hearts, where the divinity has impressed the love of liberty. That head raised upwards towards Heaven is not made in the image of the Creator to bow before man. No man is greater than another, but by the choice and consent of all. Ye courtiers, your greatness is in your lands, and not at the feet of your master. Be less ambitious, and ye will be richer. Go and do justice to your vassals, and ye will improve your fortunes by increasing the mass of common happiness. What is it ye gain by rising the edifice of despotism beneath the ruins of every degree of liberty, virtue, sentiment and property? Be persuaded it will crush you all. Around that formidable Colossus ye are not more than figures in bronze, representing the nations chained at the feet of a statue.

If the right of laying on taxes be in the prince alone, though it may not be for his interest to overcharge and vex his people, yet they will be overcharged and vexed. The caprices, profusions and enterprizes of the sovereign will no longer know any bounds when they meet with no obstacles. A false and cruel system of politics will soon persuade him that rich subjects will always become insolent, that they must be ruined, in order to be kept in subjection, and that poverty is the firmest rampart of the throne. He will go so far as to believe that every thing is at his disposal, that nothing belongs to his slaves, and that he does them a favour in every thing he leaves them.

THE government will seize upon every avenue and outlet of industry, to fleece it, as well in its entry as its outgoing, and to exhaust it in its course. Commerce

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will obtain circulation but by the interposal and for the benefit of the treasury. Cultivation will be neglected by mercenaries who can have no hopes of acquiring property. The nobility will serve and fight only for pay. The magistrate will give judgment only for the sake of his fees and his salary. Merchants will hoard up their fortunes in order to transport them out of a land where there is no regard for the country, nor any security left. The nation, being no longer of any consequence, will conceive an indifference for its kings; will see its enemies only in those who are its masters; will be induced to hope some time or other for an alleviation of its servitude in a change of its yoke; will expect its deliverance from a revolution, and its tranquillity from an entire overthrow of the state. After this there is nothing more to be said: let us now speak of a resource, which sovereigns turn to the ruin of their people: That is public credit.

Public
credit.

IN general, what is called public credit, is nothing more than delay allowed for payment. Credit then supposes a double confidence; confidence in the person who is in want of it, and confidence in his abilities to pay. The first is the most necessary. It is too common for a man in debt, who is of a bad disposition to break his engagements, though he is able to fulfil them; and to dissipate his fortune by irregular conduct and extravagance. But the honest and prudent man, who has at the same time a proper understanding, may by a variety of operations well-managed, acquire or replace the means that have failed him for a time.

THE chief end of commerce is consumption; but before commodities have reached the places where they are to be consumed, a considerable time often passes, and great expences must be incurred. If the merchant is

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compelled to make his purchases with ready money, commerce will necessarily languish. Those who are sellers, and those who must buy, will be equally sufferers by it. From these arrangements arises credit among the individuals of one society, or even of several societies. It differs from public credit, which is the credit of a whole nation considered as forming one single body.

BETWEEN public and private credit there is this difference, that gain is the end of the one, and expence of the other. From hence it follows that credit is gain with respect to the merchant; because it furnishes him with the means of acquiring riches; and that with regard to governments it is one cause of impoverishing them, since it only supplies them with the power of ruining themselves. A state that borrows, alienates a portion of its revenue for a capital which it spends. It is then poorer after having thus borrowed, than it was before that destructive manœuvre. Notwithstanding the scarcity of gold and silver, the governments of antient times were not acquainted with the use of public credit, even in the periods of the most fatal and critical events. They formed during peace a stock that was made use of as a resource in times of distress. Then money returning into circulation awakened industry and alleviated, in some measure, the inevitable calamities of war. Since the discovery of the new world has made bullion more common, those who have had the lead in governments have generally engaged in enterprizes above the abilities of the people they governed: and have not scrupled to burthen posterity with debts they have taken the liberty to contract. That system of oppression has been continued; it must bind our distant successors, and be a load upon all nations and all ages.

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THE custom of public credit, though ruinous to every state, is not equally so to all. A nation that has several valuable productions of its own; whose entire revenue is free; which has always fulfilled its engagements; which has not the ambition of conquest; and which governs itself: such a nation will find money at an easier rate, than a government whose soil is not fertile; which is overloaded with debts; which engages in undertakings beyond its strength; which has deceived its creditors, and groans beneath an arbitrary power. The lender, who of course imposes the law, will always proportion the terms to the risques he must run. Thus, a people, whose finances are in disorder, will soon fall into the utmost distress by public credit: but the government which is better administered, will also find its prosperity limited by it.

BUT, say some political arithmeticians, is it not advantageous to invite the money of other nations into the bosom of your country: and do not public stocks produce that important effect? Yes, undoubtedly we attract the money of strangers by these means; but it is in no other way than if we were to sell them one or more of the provinces of the empire. Perhaps, it would be a more rational practice to deliver up to them the soil, than to cultivate it solely for their use.

BUT if the state borrowed only of its own subjects, the national revenue would not be given up to foreigners? It certainly would not: but the state would impoverish some of its members, in order to enrich one individual. Must not taxes be increased in proportion to the interest that are to be paid, and the capital that is to be replaced? The proprietors of lands, the cultivators, every citizen, will they not all find themselves more burthened, than if all the money borrowed by the state
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had been demanded from them at once? Their situation is the same, as if they themselves had borrowed it, instead of making such savings in their ordinary expences as might enable them to supply an accidental charge.

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BUT the paper currency which proceeds from the loans made to government, increases the mass of riches in circulation, gives a great compass to all business, and facilitates every operation. Infatuated men! Can you not perceive all the errors of your politics? Let your system be stretched to the utmost; let the state borrow all it can; load it with interest to be paid: and by these means reduce it to the necessity of forcing every tax; ye will soon find that with all your riches in circulation, ye will have no more wealth springing up afresh from the purposes of consumption and your trade. Money, and the paper which represents it, do not circulate of themselves, nor without certain powers that put them in motion. All these different signs come into use only in proportion as sales and purchases are made. Cover all Europe, if you choose it, with gold; if there is no merchandize for traffic, that gold will lie inactive. If you do but multiply the commercial effects, ye need pay no attention to these representations of wealth; mutual confidence and necessity will soon be enabled to establish them without your care. Above all things you must be careful not to multiply them by such means as must of course diminish the mass of your growing produce.

BUT the custom of public credit enables one power to give the law to others. Will it never be discovered that this resource is in common to all nations? If it be a kind of high road for us to march up to the adversary, will it not equally serve them to come to us? Will not the credit of the two nations be in proportion to their respective wealth? and will they not be ruined without having

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having any other advantages over one another than those they were in possession of, independent of every loan? When I see monarchs and empires at war, and falling upon one another with violence in the midst of all their debts, their public funds, and their revenues already deeply mortgaged, it seems to me, says a philosophical writer, as if I saw men fighting with clubs in a potter's shop surrounded with porcelain.

It would, perhaps, be rashness to affirm, that in no circumstance whatsoever the public service will require an alienation of part of the public revenues. The scenes that disturb the world are so various; governments are exposed to such strange revolutions; the field of events is so extensive; politics strike such surprising strokes, that it is not within the reach of human wisdom to foresee and calculate every circumstance. But in this point, it is the common practice of governments, which we are discussing, and not a particular situation which in all probability may never present itself.

EVERY state which will not be diverted from the ruinous course of loans by such considerations as we have just been offering, will effect its own ruin. The facility of acquiring great sums of money at once, will put a government upon every kind of unreasonable, rash and expensive undertaking; will make it mortgage the future for the present, and game with the present stock to acquire future supplies. One loan will bring on another, and to accelerate the last, the interest will be more and more raised.

THIS irregularity will cause the fruits of industry to pass into some idle hands. The ease of enjoyment without doing any thing, will draw into the capital every person of fortune, and all vicious and intriguing men; together with a train of servants, borrowed from the plough;

plough; of young girls deprived of their innocence and of their rights of marriage; of subjects of both sexes devoted to luxury: all of them the instruments, the victims, the objects, or the sport of indolence and voluptuousness.

THE seducing attraction of public debts will spread more and more. When men can reap the fruits without work, every individual will engage in that species of employment which is at once lucrative and easy. Proprietors of land and merchants will all turn annuitants. Money is changed into state paper, because the sign is more portable, less subject to alteration from time, and less liable to the injury of seasons, and the rapacity of the farmers of the revenue. Agriculture, trade and industry will suffer from the preference given to the representative paper above the real specie or commodity. As the state always makes a bad distribution of that which has been wrongfully acquired, in proportion as its debts increase, the taxes must be raised in order to pay the interest. Thus all the active and fruitful classes of society are stripped and exhausted by the idle and barren class of annuitants. The increase of taxes raises the price of commodities, and consequently that of industry. By these means, consumption is lessened; because exportation ceases as soon as merchandise is too dear to stand the competitions of other nations. Land and manufactures are equally affected.

THE inability the state then finds in itself to answer its engagements, forces it to extricate itself by a method the most destructive of the freedom of the people, and of the power of the sovereign, by bankruptcy. The necessity of this fatal crisis of empires, which oversets the fortunes of every one, will at length approach; a method that by violence despoils the creditors, after having attracted

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tracted to itself every stock by usurious interest, and by edicts for loans, which disgrace the monarch by cruel failures after his most solemn engagements, forfeiting the oaths of the prince and the rights of his subjects, overturning without resource the surest basis of all government, public confidence.—Such is the end of loans, from whence we may judge of the principles on which they are founded.

Fine arts
and Belles
Lettres.

AFTER having examined the basis and columns of every civilized society, let us take a view of the ornaments and decorations of the building. These are the fine arts, and polite literature. Two famous people raised themselves by works of genius to a height of reputation which will never end, and which will always reflect honour on the human species.

CHRISTIANITY, after having demolished in Europe all the idols of Pagan antiquity, preserved some of the arts to serve as a support to the influence of persuasion, and to favour the preaching of the gospel. But in the place of a religion embellished with the gay divinities of Greece and Rome, it erected monuments of terror and sadness, conformable to the tragical events which signalized its birth and progress. The Gothic ages have left us some monuments, the boldness and majesty of which still strike the eye amidst the ruins of taste and elegance. Every one of their temples was built in the shape of the cross, covered with the cross, filled with crucifixes, decorated with horrid and gloomy images, with scaffolds, tortures, martyrs, and executioners.

WHAT became of the arts, condemned as they were to terrify the imagination by continual spectacles of blood, death, and future punishments? They became as hideous as their models, barbarous as the princes and pontiffs that employed them, mean and base as the adorers of their works, they frightened children in their very

ry cradles; they aggravated the horrors of the grave by an eternal perspective of terrible shades; they spread melancholy over the whole face of the land.

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AT length the period arrived for lessening those scaffoldings of religion and social policy. The fine arts returned with literature from Greece into Italy by the Mediterranean, which maintained the commerce between Asia and Europe. The Huns, under the name of Goths, had driven them from Rome to Constantinople; and the very same Huns, under the name of Turks, drove them back again from Constantinople to Rome. That city, destined as it was to rule by force or by stratagem, cultivated and revived the arts, which had been a long time buried in oblivion.

WALLS, columns, statues, vases, were drawn forth from the dust of ages, and the ruins of Italy, for models of the fine arts at their revival. The genius which presides over design raised three of the arts at once; I mean architecture, sculpture, and painting. Architecture, in which convenience of itself regulated those proportions of symmetry that contribute to give pleasure to the eye; sculpture, which flatters princes, and is the reward of great men; and painting, which perpetuates the remembrance of noble actions, and the instances of mutual love. Italy alone had more superb cities, more magnificent edifices than all the rest of Europe put together. Rome, Florence and Venice bred three schools of original painters: so much does genius appertain to the imagination, and imagination to the climate. Had Italy possessed the treasures of Mexico, and the produce of Asia, how much more would the arts have been enriched by the discovery of both the Indies.

THAT country, of old so fruitful in heroes, and afterwards in artists, beheld literature, which is the inseparable

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separable companion of the arts, flourish a second time. They had been stifled by a series of barbarous latinity, corrupted and disfigured by religion.—A mixture of Egyptian theology, Grecian philosophy, and Hebrew poetry; such was the Latin language in the mouths of Monks, who chanted all night, and taught by day things and words they did not understand.

THE mythology of the Romans revived in literature the graces of antiquity. The spirit of imitation borrowed them at first without choice. Custom introduced taste in the employment of those rich treasures. The Italian genius, too fertile not to invent, mixed its bold strokes, and its capricious flights, with the rules and modes of their old masters, even the fictions of fairy land with those of fable. The manners of the age, and the national character gave their own tincture to the works of imagination. Petrarch had drawn that celestial virgin, beauty, which served as a model for the heroines of chivalry. Armida was the emblem of the coquetry which reigned in her time in Italy. Ariosto confounded all kinds of poetry, in a work, which may rather be called the labyrinth of poetry, than a poem. That author will stand single in the history of literature, like the enchanted palaces of his own construction in the deserts.

LETTERS and arts, after crossing the sea, passed the Alps. In the same manner as the Crusades had brought the oriental romances into Italy, the wars of Charles the VIIIth and Lewis the XIIth transported into France some principles of good literature. Francis the first, if he had not been to dispute the Milanese with Charles the Vth, would never, perhaps, have been ambitious of the title of *the Father of letters*: but these seeds of knowledge and improvement in the arts were lost in the religious wars. They were collected, if I may be allowed the

the expression, in blood and carnage : and the time came when they were to spring up and bring forth fruit. The 16th century belonged to Italy, the succeeding one to France, which by the victories of Lewis the XIVth, or rather by the genius of great men, that flourished together under his reign, deserves to make an epocha in the history of the fine arts.

As it had been in Italy, so in France genius seized at once upon all the powers of the human mind. It was displayed in the marble, and on the canvas, in public edifices and gardens ; as well as in eloquence and poetry. Every thing was submitted to its influence, not only the ingenious mechanic arts, but those also which depend solely on the mind. Every thing bore the stamp of genius. The colours visible in nature animated the works of imagination ; and the human passions enlivened the designs of the pencil. Man gave spirit to matter, and body to spirit. But let it be well observed this happened at a time when a passion for glory warmed the nation, great and powerful as it was by its situation, and the extent of its empire. The sense of honour which raised it in its own estimation, and which then characterised it in the eyes of all Europe, was its soul, its instinct, and supplied the place of that liberty which had formerly created the arts of genius in the republics of Greece and Rome, which had revived them in that of Florence, and which had compelled them to push forth on the cold and foggy borders of the Thames.

WHAT would not genius have done in France, had it been under the influence of laws only, when it soared so high under the dominion of the most absolute of kings ! When we see what energy patriotism has given to the English, in spite of the inactivity of their climate, we may judge what it might have produced amongst the French, where a most mild temperature of season leads a

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people, naturally sensible and lively, to invention and enjoyment. We may judge what might have been done in a country, where, as of old in Greece, are found spirits warm and apt for invention, beneath a sun that enlivens them with its purest beams ; nervous arms, in a climate where even the cold excites to labour : temperate provinces between north and south : sea-ports seconded by navigable rivers : vast plains abounding in corn : hills loaded with vineyards and fruits of all sorts : salt pits which may be multiplied at pleasure : pastures covered with horses : mountains clothed with the finest woods : a country every where peopled with laborious hands, which are the first resources for subsistence : the common materials for the arts, and the superfluities of luxury : in a word, the commerce of Athens, the industry of Corinth, the soldiery of Sparta, and the flocks of Arcadia. With all these advantages, which Greece once possessed, France might have carried the fine arts to as great a height as that parent of genius, had she but had the same laws, the same exercise of reason and liberty, which give rise to great men, and rulers of great nations.

NEXT to the superiority of legislation, among modern nations, in order for their being equal to the ancients in works of genius, there has, perhaps, been wanting nothing except an improvement in language. The Italian, with tone, accent, and numbers, has assumed all the characteristics of poetry, and impressed all the charms of music. These two arts have consecrated it to the delightful province of harmony, as its softest mode of expression.

THE French language holds the superiority in prose ; if it is not the language of the gods, it is, at least, that of reason and truth. Prose especially speaks to reason in philosophy. It enlightens those minds privileged by nature,

nature, which seem placed between princes and their subjects to instruct and direct mankind. At a period when liberty has no longer her tribunes, nor amphitheatres, to agitate vast assemblies of the people, a language which spreads itself in books, which is read in all countries, which serves as the common interpreter of all other languages, and as the vehicle of all sorts of ideas : a language ennobled, refined, softened, and above all, fixed by the genius of writers, and the polish of courts, becomes at length universally prevailing.

THE English language has likewise had its poets, and its prose-writers, that have gained it the character of energy and boldness, sufficient to make it immortal. May it be learned among all nations that aspire not to be slaves. They will dare to think, act, and govern themselves. It is not the language of words, but of ideas ; and the English have none but such as are strong and forcible ; they are the first who ever made use of the expression, *the majesty of the people*, and that alone is sufficient to consecrate a language.

THE Spaniards have hitherto properly had neither prose nor verse, though they have a language formed to excel in both. Brilliant and sonorous as pure gold, its pace is grave and regular like the dances of that nation : it is grand and decent like the manners of ancient chivalry. That tongue will be able to maintain some dignity, even acquire some superiority, whenever there shall be found in it many such writers as Cervantes and Mariana. When its academy shall have put to silence the inquisition and its universities, that language will raise itself to great ideas, and to sublime truths, to which it is invited by the natural high spirit of the people who speak it.

PRIOR to all other living languages is the German, that mother tongue, that original native language of Eu-

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rope. From thence the English and French too have been formed, by the mixture of the German with the Latin. However, as it seems hardly calculated to please the eye, and for polite organs, it has remained in the mouths of the people, and has been introduced but of late into books. A scarcity of writers seemed to shew that it belonged to a country where the fine arts, poetry and eloquence were not destined to flourish. But on a sudden, genius has exerted her powers, and originals in more than one species of poetry, have appeared in pretty considerable numbers, sufficient to come into competition with other nations.

LANGUAGES could not be cultivated and refined to a certain degree, but the arts of every kind must keep peace with that degree of perfection; and indeed the monuments of these arts have multiplied so much throughout Europe, that the barbarism of succeeding people and of ages to come will find it difficult entirely to destroy them.

HOWEVER, as the human species is merely a subject for fermentations and revolutions, there is only wanting some ardent genius, some enthusiast to set the world again in flames. The people of the east, and of the north, are ready to spread their chains, and their darkness over all Europe. Would not an irruption of Tartars or Africans into Italy, be sufficient to overturn churches, and palaces, to confound in one general ruin the idols of religion, and the master-works of art? And as we are so much attached to these works of luxury, we should have the less spirit to defend them. A city, which it has cost two centuries to decorate, is burnt and ravaged in a single day. Perhaps, with one stroke of his axe, a Tartar may dash in pieces the statue of Voltaire, that Pigalle could not finish within the compass of

ten years. And still we are at work for immortality. Vain atoms that we are, pressed forward by one another in the shade from whence we began. Ye nations, whether artisans or soldiers, what are ye in the hands of nature, but the sport of her laws, destined by turns to set dust in motion, and to reduce the work again into dust.

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BUT it is by means of the arts that man enjoys his existence, and survives himself.—Ages of ignorance never emerge from their oblivion. There remains no more trace of them after their existence, than before they began to exist. There is no possibility of indicating the place or time of their passage, nor can we mark on the ground belonging to a barbarous people, *it is here they lived*; for they leave not even ruins to record them. It is invention alone that gives man power over matter and time. The genius of Homer has rendered the Greek characters indelible. Harmony and reason have placed the eloquence of Cicero above the sacred orators. The pontiffs themselves, softened and enlightened by the information and charm of the arts, by being admirers and protectors of them, have assisted the human mind to break the chains of superstition. Commerce has hastened the progress of art by means of the luxury which wealth has diffused. Every effort of the mind and of the body has been united to embellish and improve the lot of the human species. Industry and invention, together with the enjoyments procured by the new world, have penetrated as far as the polar circle, and the fine arts are attempting to force nature even at Petersburg.

To the train of letters and fine arts philosophy is annexed, which one would imagine ought rather to conduct them: but appearing later than they did can only follow as an attendant. Arts arise from the very necessities of mankind in the earliest state of the human

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mind. Letters are the flowers of its youth : children of the imagination, being themselves fond of ornament, they decorate every thing they approach : and this turn for embellishment produces what are properly called the fine arts or the arts of luxury and decoration, which give the polish to the primary arts of necessity. It is then we see the winged genii of sculpture fluttering over the porticos of architecture ; and the genii of painting entering palaces, representing the heavens upon a cieling, sketching out upon wool and silk all the animated scenes of rural life, and tracing to the mind upon canvas the useful truths of history as well as the agreeable chimæras of fable.

WHEN the mind has been employed on the pleasures of the imagination and of the senses, when governments have arrived to a degree of maturity, reason arises and bestows on the nations a certain gravity ; this is the age of philosophy. She advances with gradual steps and proceeds silently along, announcing the old age of empires which she attempts in vain to support. She closed the latter ages of the fine republics of Greece and Rome. Athens had no philosophers till the eve of her ruin, which they seemed to foretell : Cicero and Lucretius did not compose their writings on the nature of the gods, and the system of the world, till the din of civil wars arose, and hastened the downfall of liberty.

HOWEVER, Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras had sown the seeds of philosophy in their theory concerning the elements of matter ; but the folly of systems destroyed all these principles one by another. Then Socrates appeared, who brought philosophy back to the principles of true wisdom and virtue : it was that alone he loved, practised and taught ; persuaded that man has no need of science, but of morals, to be happy. Plato, his disciple, though a natural philosopher
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and instructed in the mysteries of nature by his travels into Egypt, ascribed every thing to the soul, and scarce any thing to nature; he overwhelmed philosophy with theology, and the knowledge of the universe with the ideas of the divine powers. Aristotle, Plato's disciple, discoursed less of God than of Man and the animal creation. His natural history has been transmitted to posterity, though his system was not universally followed by the people of his time. Epicurus, who lived nearly about the same period, revived the atoms of Democritus, which doubtless balanced the four elements of Aristotle, and in this equilibrium of systems, natural philosophy could not make any progress. The moralists led the people in their train as they are better understood than the naturalists. They formed their schools; for no sooner do opinions gain a degree of reputation than parties are formed to support them.

IN these circumstances, Greece agitated by interior commotions after having been torn with an intestine war, was subjected by Macedon, and broken in pieces by Rome. Then public calamities turned the hearts and understandings of men to morality. Zeno and Democritus who had been only naturalists became, long after their death, the heads of two sects of moralists, more addicted to theology than physics, rather casuists than philosophers; or it might rather be affirmed that philosophy was given up and confined entirely to the sophists. The Romans, who took every thing from the Greeks, made no discoveries in the true field of philosophy. Among the ancients philosophy made little progress; because it was entirely confined to morality: among the moderns its first steps have been more fortunate, because they have been guided by the light of natural knowledge.

WE must not reckon the interval of near a thousand years, during which period philosophy, science, arts and

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letters, slept in the grave with Roman empire, among the ashes of Italy, and the dust of cloysters. Asia preserved the monuments of it without making any use of them, and Europe some fragments without knowing them. The world, Christian or Mohammedan, was every where covered with the blood of nations: ignorance alone triumphed under the standard of the cross or the crescent. Before these dreadful signs, every knee was bent, every spirit trembled. Philosophy continued in a state of infancy, pronouncing only the names of God and of the soul: her attention was solely engaged on matters of which she should for ever remain ignorant. Time, argument and all her application was wasted on questions that were, at least, idle; questions, for the most part, void of sense, not to be defined, and not to be determined from the nature of their object; and which, therefore, proved an eternal source of disputes, schisms, sects, hatred, persecution, and national as well as religious wars.

IN the mean time, the Arabs after their conquests carried away as it were in triumph, the spoils of genius and philosophy. Aristotle fell into their hands, saved out of the ruins of ancient Greece. These destroyers of empires had some sciences of which they had been the first authors. Calculation was of their invention. Astronomy and geometry accompanied them along the coasts of Africa, which they laid waste and peopled again. Medicine attended them every where. That science which has, perhaps, no greater recommendation in its favour, than its affinity with chymistry and natural knowledge, rendered them as famous as astrology, another support of imposition. Avicenna and Averroës, physicians, mathematicians, and philosophers maintained the tradition of true science by translations and commentaries. But let us imagine what must become of Aristotle, translated from Greek into Arabic,

Arabic, and after that, from Arabic into Latin, under the hands of monks, who wanted to adapt the philosophy of paganism to the Hebrew codes of Moses and Christ. That confusion of systems, ideas and language stopped for a considerable time the structure of science. The divine overturned the materials brought by the philosopher, who sapped the very foundations laid by his rival. However, with a few stones from one, and much sand from the other, some miserable architects built up a strange Gothic monument, called the philosophy of the schools. Continually patched, propped and plaistered from age to age, by Irish or Spanish metaphysicians, it supported itself till about the time of the discovery of the new world, which was destined to change the face of the old one.

LIGHT sprang from the midst of darkness. An English monk attended to the practice of chymistry, and paving the way for the invention of gun-powder, which was to bring America into subjection to Europe, he opened the avenues of true science by experimental philosophy. Thus science issued out of the cloyster, where ignorance remained. When Bocaccio had exposed the debauched lives of the regular and secular clergy, Galileo ventured conjectures upon the figure of the earth. Superstition was alarmed at it, and with its clamours sent forth its thunders: but philosophy tore off the mask from the monster, and rent the veil under which truth had been hid. The weakness and falsehood of popular opinions was perceived, on which the basis of the social edifice was supported; but to drive error from her tribunal, it was necessary to be acquainted with the laws of nature, and the causes of the various phænomena. That was the object philosophy had in view.

As soon as Copernicus was dead, after he had, by force of reason, conjectured that the sun was in the centre

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centre of our world, Galileo arose, and confirmed by the invention of the telescope the true system of astronomy which either had been unknown, or lay in oblivion ever since Pythagoras had once conceived it. While Gassendi was putting the elements of antient philosophy, or the atoms of Epicurus into motion, Descartes agitated and combined the elements of a new philosophy, or his ingenious and subtile vortexes. Almost about the same time, Toricelli invented, at Florence, the thermometer for the weighing of air; Pascal measured the height of the mountains of Auvergne, and Boyle in England verified and confirmed the various experiments of both the one and the other.

DESCARTES had taught the art of doubting, in order to undeceive the mind previous to instruction. His methodical doubt was the grand instrument of science, and the most signal service that could be rendered to the human mind under the darkness which surrounded it, and the chains which fettered it. Bayle, by applying that method to opinions the best authorised by the sanction of time and compulsion, has made us sensible of the importance of doubting.

CHANCELLOR Bacon, a philosopher, but unsuccessful at court, as friar Bacon had been in the cloyster, like him the harbinger rather than the legislator of the new philosophy, had protested equally against the prejudice of the senses and the schools, as against those phantoms he stiled the idols of the understanding. He had foretold truths he could not discover. In conformity to his oracular presages, while experimental philosophy was discovering facts, rational philosophy was in search of causes. Both contributed to the study of mathematics, which were to guide the efforts of the mind and insure their success. It was, in fact, the science of algebra applied

applied to geometry, and the application of geometry to natural philosophy, which raised in Newton suspicions of the true system of the world. Upon turning his eyes up to the heavens, by his observations on the fall of bodies to the earth, he saw there might be among the motions of the heavenly bodies some relations which implied an universal principle, differing from impulsion, the only visible cause of all their movements. By the study of optics after astronomy, he conjectured the origin of light; and the experiments to which he was led on by that conjecture, changed it into system.

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AT the time when Descartes died, Newton and Leibnitz were hardly born, who were to finish, correct and bring to perfection what he had begun, that is to say, the establishing of sound philosophy. These two men alone greatly contributed to its quick and rapid progress. One carried the knowledge of God and the soul, as far as reason could lead it; and the inutility of his attempts undeceived the human mind for ever with respect to those false metaphysics. The other extended the principles of natural philosophy and the mathematics much further than the genius of many ages had been able to carry them, and pointed out the road to truth. At the same time Locke attacked scientific prejudices even into the intrenchments of the schools: he dissipated all those phantoms of the imagination, which Mallebranche suffered to spring up again, after he had humbled them, because he did not go to the root of the hydra's head.

BUT we are not to suppose philosophers alone have discovered and imagined every thing. It is the course of events which has given a certain bent to the actions and thoughts of mankind. A complication of natural or moral causes, a gradual improvement in politics joined to the progress of study and of the sciences, a combination

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nation of circumstances which it was as impossible to hasten as to foresee, must have contributed to the revolution that has prevailed in the understandings of men. Among nations as among individuals, the body and soul act and re-act alternately upon each other. Popular opinions infect even philosophers, and philosophers are guides to the people. Galileo had asserted, that as the earth turned round the sun, there must be antipodes; and Drake proved the fact, by a voyage round the world. The church styled itself universal, and the Pope called himself master of the earth: and yet more than two thirds of its inhabitants did not so much as know there was any catholic religion, and particularly that there was a pope. Europeans, who have travelled and trafficked every where, taught Europe that one portion of the globe lived under the laws of Mohammed, and a still larger one in the darkness of idolatry, or in the total ignorance and unenlightened state of atheism. Thus philosophy extended the empire of human knowledge, by the discovery of the errors of superstition, and of the truths of nature.

ITALY, whose impatient genius penetrated through the obstacles that surrounded it, was the first that founded an academy of natural philosophy. France and England, who by their rivalry were to extend their greatness, raised at one time two everlasting monuments to the improvement of philosophy: two academies whence all the learned of Europe draw their information, and in which they deposit all their stores of knowledge. From hence have been brought to light a great number of the mysterious points in nature, experiments, phænomena, discoveries in the arts and sciences, the secrets of electricity, and the causes of the Aurora Borealis. Hence have proceeded the instruments and means of purifying air on board of ships, for making sea water fit

to be drunk, for determining the figure of the earth, and ascertaining the longitudes; for improving agriculture, and for producing more grain with less seed and less labour.

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ARISTOTLE had reigned ten centuries in all the schools of Europe; and the christians, after losing the guidance of reason, were able to recover it again only by following his example. They had even gone astray, for a long time, by attending on that philosopher, because they walked involved in the darkness of theology. But at last Descartes gave the thread, and Newton the wings for getting out of that labyrinth. Doubt had dissipated prejudices, and the method of analysis had found out the truth. After the two Bacons, Galileo and Descartes, Locke and Bayle, Leibnitz and Newton, after the memoirs of the academies of Florence and Leipsic, of Paris and London, there still remained a great work to be composed, in order to perpetuate the sciences and philosophy. This work has now appeared.

THIS book, which contains all the errors and all the truths that have issued from the human mind from the doctrines of theology to the speculations on insects, every work of the hands of men from a ship to a pin; this repository of the intelligence of all nations, will, in future ages, characterize that of philosophy, which after so many advantages procured to mankind ought to be considered as a divinity on earth. It is she who binds, enlightens, aids and comforts human beings. She bestows every thing upon them, without exacting any worship in return. She demands of them, not the sacrifice of their passions, but a reasonable, useful and moderate exercise of all their faculties. Daughter of nature, dispenser of her gifts, interpreter of her rights, she consecrates her intelligence and her labour to the use of man. She makes him better, that he may be happier. She detests

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detests only tyranny and imposture, because they trample on the world. She does not desire to rule, but she exacts of such as do rule that they covet no enjoyment but the public happiness. She avoids disturbance, and the name of sects, but she tolerates them all. The blind and the wicked calumniate her; the former are afraid of seeing, and the latter of being seen. Ungrateful children, who rebel against a tender mother, when she wishes to cure them of their errors and vices which occasion the calamities of mankind.

LIGHT, however, spreads insensibly over a more extensive horizon. A kind of empire is formed, that of literature, which begins and paves the way for the republic of Europe. In truth, if philosophy is ever enabled to insinuate itself into the minds of sovereigns or their ministers, the system of politics will be improved, and rendered simple. Humanity will be more regarded in all their plans; the public good will enter into their negotiations, not merely as an expression, but as a matter of consequence even to kings.

ALREADY has printing made such progress that it can never be put a stop to in any state without lowering the people by desiring to advance the authority of government. Books enlighten the multitude, humanize the great, delight the leisure of the rich, and inform all the classes of society. The sciences bring to perfection the different branches of political œconomy. Even the errors of systematical persons are dissipated by the press, because reasoning and discussion try them by the test of truth.

AN intercourse of knowledge is become necessary for industry, and literature alone maintains that communication. The reading of a voyage round the world has, perhaps, occasioned more attempts of that kind; for interest alone cannot find the means of enterprize. At present

present nothing can be cultivated without some study, or without the knowledge handed down and diffused by reading. Princes themselves have not recovered their rights from the usurpations of the clergy, but by the assistance of that intelligence which has undeceived the people with respect to the abuses of all spiritual power. BOOK
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BUT it would be the greatest folly of the human mind to have employed all its powers to raise the authority of kings, and to break every other shackle in order to forge out of them that of despotism. The same courage that religion inspires to withdraw conscience from the tyranny exercised over opinion, the honest man, the citizen, and friend of the people ought to maintain to free the nations from the tyranny of such powers as conspire against the liberty of mankind. Unhappy is that state in which there is not to be found one single defender of public right. The kingdom, with all its riches, its trade, its nobles, and its citizens must soon fall into unavoidable anarchy. It is the laws that are to save a nation from destruction, and the freedom of writing is to save the laws? But what is the foundation and bulwark of the laws? It is morality.

THERE are whole libraries of morality. What a number of useless and even pernicious books! They are, for the most part, the work of priests and their disciples, who not chusing to see that religion should consider men only in the relations they stand in to the divinity, found it necessary to look for another ground for the relations they bear among one another. If there is an universal morality, it cannot be the effect of a particular cause. It has been the same in times past, and it will be still the same in ages to come; it cannot then be grounded on religious opinions, which have continually varied ever since the beginning of the world, and from one pole to the

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the other. Greece had vicious deities, the Romans had them likewise: the stupid worshippers of the Fetiche adores rather a devil than a God. Every people made gods for themselves, and made them as they pleased: some good, others cruel: some immoral, and others of austere manners. One would think that every nation had a mind to deify their own passions and opinions. Notwithstanding that diversity in religious systems and modes of worship, all nations have perceived that men ought to be just: all nations have honoured as virtues, goodness, pity, friendship, fidelity, paternal tenderness, filial respect, sincerity, gratitude, love of one's country; in short all the feelings that can be considered as ties adapted to unite men more closely to one another. The origin of that uniformity of judgment so constant, so general, ought not then to be looked for in the midst of contradictory and fluctuating opinions. If the ministers of religion have appeared to think otherwise, it is because by their system they gained the power of regulating all the actions of mankind; they disposed of all their fortunes; of all their wills; they secured to themselves in the name of Heaven the arbitrary government of the world—the veil is now removed.

At the tribunal of philosophy and reason, morality is a science whose object is the preservation and common happiness of the human species. To this double end all its rules ought to tend. Their natural, constant, eternal principle is in man himself, and the resemblance of organs in one man to those of another; a resemblance in this particular which brings with it a similarity of wants, of pleasures, and pains, of force and weakness; whence arises the necessity of society; or of a common struggle against dangers equally incident to each individual, which proceed from nature herself, and threaten man on all sides. Such is the origin of particular ties
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and of domestic virtues ; such is the origin of general ties and public virtues ; such is the source of the notion of personal and public utility, the source of all compacts between individuals, and of all laws of government.

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SEVERAL writers have endeavoured to trace the first principles of morality in the sentiments of friendship, tenderness, compassion, honour, and benevolence ; because they found them engraven on the human heart. But did they not find there likewise hatred, jealousy, revenge, pride, and the love of dominion ? Why then have they founded morality on the former rather than the latter ? It is because they found that the former affections turned to the common advantage of society, and that the others were fatal to it. These philosophers have perceived the necessity of morals, they have conceived what they ought to be, but have not discovered their leading and fundamental principle. In truth, the very sentiments they adopt as the groundwork of morality, because they appear to be serviceable to the common good, left to themselves would be very prejudicial. How should we determine to punish the guilty if we listened only to compassion ? How shall we guard against partiality, if we consult only the dictates of friendship ? How should we avoid being favourable to idleness, if we attended only to the feelings of benevolence ? All these virtues have their limits, beyond which they degenerate into vices ; and those limits are settled by the invariable rules of essential justice ; or, which is the same thing, by the common interests of men united together in society and the constant object of that union.

THESE limits, it is true, have not yet been ascertained ; but how should they have been, since it has not been possible to fix what the common interest itself was ? And this is the reason why among all people, and at all

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times, men have formed such different ideas of virtue and vice : why hitherto, morality has appeared to be but a matter of mere convention among men. That so many ages should have passed away in profound ignorance of the first principles of a science so important to our happiness is a certain fact ; but so extraordinary that it should appear incredible. It is not to be conceived how it has happened that we should not sooner have discovered that as the uniting of men in society has no other aim but the common happiness of individuals, there is not, neither can there be among them any other social tie than that of their common interest : and that nothing can be consistent with the order of societies, unless it be consistent with the common utility of the members that compose them : that it is this which necessarily determines virtue and vice : and that our actions are consequently more or less virtuous, according as they turn more or less to the common advantage of society : that they are more or less vicious, according as the prejudice society receives from them is greater or less.

Is it on its own account that we raise courage to the number of the virtues ? No, it is on account of the service it is of to society. The proof of this is, that it is punished in a man who makes use of it to disturb the public peace. Why is drunkenness a vice ? Because every man is bound to contribute to the common good, and to fulfil that obligation he has occasion for the free exercise of his faculties. Why are certain actions more blameable in a magistrate or general, than in a private man ? Because greater inconvenience results from them to society.

As society ought to be of use to every one of its members ; it is but just that each of its members should be useful to society. Therefore to be virtuous, is to be useful :

useful : to be vicious, is to be useless or hurtful. This is morality. BOOK
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THIS, indeed, is universal morality—that morality which being connected with the nature of man, is connected with the nature of society ; that morality which can vary only in its applications, but never in its essence : that morality, in short, to which all laws should refer, and to which they should be subordinate. In conformity to this common regulation of all our private and public actions, let us see whether there ever were, or ever can be good morals in Europe.

SINCE the invasion of the barbarous nations into this quarter of the globe, almost all governments have had no other basis than the interest of a single man, or a single set of men, to the prejudice of the whole society. Founded on conquest, the effect of force, they have only varied in the mode of keeping the people in subjection. At first war made victims of them, devoted either to the sword of the master, or of the enemy. How many ages passed among blood and the carnage of nations, that is to say, in the distribution of empires, before terms of peace had let in something of a more divine nature into that state of intestine war called society or government.

WHEN the feudal government had for ever excluded those who tilled the ground from the right of possessing it : when, by a sacrilegious collusion between the altar and the throne, God had been associated with the sword, what effect had the morality of the gospel, but the emboldening of tyranny by passive obedience, but the cementing of slavery by a contempt of all science and all private acquisitions ; but the adding to the fear of the great, the dread of demons ? And what were morals with such laws ? What they are at present in Poland, where the people, being without lands, and

without arms, are left to be cut to pieces by the Russians or enlisted by the Prussians, and having neither vigour nor sentiment, think it is sufficient if they are christians, and remain neuter between their neighbours and their lords palatine.

To a similar state of anarchy wherein morals had neither any characteristic nor stability, succeeded the epidemic fury of holy wars, by which nations were corrupted and degraded, by communicating the contagion of vices with that of fanaticism. Morals were changed by changing climate. All the passions were inflamed and heightened between the tombs of Jesus and Mohammed. From Palestine was imported a principle of luxury and pride, a strong taste for the spices of the east, a romantic spirit which civilized the nobles of all countries without making the people more happy or more virtuous: for if there is no happiness without virtue; virtue will never support itself without a foundation of happiness.

ABOUT two centuries after Europe had been depopulated by Asiatic expeditions, its transmigration in America happened. That revolution induced an universal confusion, and mixed the vices and productions of every climate with ours. Neither did morality acquire any improvement, because men were then destroyed through avarice, instead of being massacred on account of religion. Those nations which had made the largest acquisitions in the new world, seemed to collect at the same time all the stupidity, ferociousness, and ignorance of the old. They became the communicating channels of vices, and diseases, poor and wretched amidst all their gold; debauched, notwithstanding their churches and their priests; idle and superstitious with all the sources of commerce, and means of being enlightened. But the love of riches likewise corrupted all other nations.

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WHETHER it be war or commerce that introduces great wealth into a state, they soon become the object of public ambition. At first they are men of power who seize upon them. Then, as riches come into the hands of those who hold the helm of affairs, wealth is confounded with honour in the minds of the people: and the virtuous citizen, who aspired to employments only for the sake of glory, aspires without knowing it, to honour for the sake of advantage. Neither lands nor treasure, any more than conquests, are gained but from a wish to enjoy them; and riches are enjoyed but for pleasure and the ostentation of luxury. By this double use, they corrupt as well the citizen who possesses them, as the people whose eyes they fascinate. As soon as men labour, attracted only by lucre, and not from a regard to their duty, the most advantageous situations are preferred to the most honourable. It is then we see the honour of a profession diverted, obscured, and lost in the paths that lead to wealth.

To the advantage of that false consideration at which riches arrive, are to be added the natural conveniencies of opulence, a fresh source of corruption. The placeman wishes to draw people about him: the honours he receives in public are not sufficient for him; he wants admirers, either of his talents, his luxury, or his profusion. If riches are the means of corruption by leading to honours, how much more so by diffusing the taste for pleasure? Misery offers its chastity to sale, and idleness its liberty; the prince sets the magistracy up to sale, and the magistrates set a price upon justice: the court sells employments, and placemen sell the people to the prince, who sell them again to the neighbouring powers either in treaties of war, or subsidy; of peace, or exchange of territory.

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SUCH is the sordid traffic introduced by the love of riches in any country where they can do every thing, and where virtue is held in no estimation. But there is no effect without its causes. Gold does not become the people's idol, and virtue does not fall into contempt, unless the bad constitution of the government induces that degree of corruption. Unfortunately, it will always have this effect, if the government is so constituted that the temporary interest of a single person, or of a small number, can with impunity prevail over the common and invariable interest of the whole. It will always induce this corruption, if those, in whose hands authority is lodged, can make an arbitrary use of it, can place themselves above the reach of all rules of justice, can make their power administer to plundering, and their plunder to the continuance of abuses occasioned by their power. Good laws are maintained by good morals; but good morals are established by good laws: men are what government makes them. To modify them, it is always armed with an irresistible force, that of public opinion: and the government will always become a corrupter, when by its nature it is itself corrupt. In a word, the nations of Europe will have good morals when they have good governments. Let us conclude.

NATIONS, I have discoursed to you on your dearest interests. I have placed before your eyes the benefits of nature, and the fruits of industry. As ye are too frequently the occasion of one another's unhappiness, you must have felt how the jealousy of avarice, how pride and ambition remove far from your common weal the happiness that presents itself to you by peace and commerce. I have recalled that happiness you drive away. The feelings of my heart have been warmly expressed in favour of all mankind without distinction.

tion of sect or country. Men are all equal in my sight, by the reciprocal relation of the same wants and the same calamities; as they are all equal in the eyes of the supreme being through the relation between their weakness and his power.

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I am aware that subjected as ye are to rulers, your condition depends on them, and that to speak of your evils was to reproach them with their errors or their crimes. This reflection has not prevented me from exerting myself. I never thought that the sacred respect due to humanity could possibly be irreconcilable with that respect which is due to those who should be its natural protectors. I have been transported in idea into the councils of the governing powers of the world. I have spoken without disguise, and without fear, and have not to reproach myself with having betrayed the honourable cause I dared to plead. I have told sovereigns what were their duties, and what were the people's rights. I have traced to them the fatal effects of that inhuman power which is guilty of oppression; and that whose supineness and feebleness suffers it. I have sketched all around them portraits of your misfortunes, and they cannot but have felt them. I have warned them that if they turned their eyes away, those true but dreadful pictures would be engraven on the marble of their tombs, and accuse their ashes while posterity trampled on them.

BUT talents are not always equal to our zeal. Undoubtedly I have stood in need of a greater share of that penetration which discovers expedients, and that eloquence which enforces truth. Sometimes, perhaps, my feelings have elevated my genius: but most frequently have I perceived myself overwhelmed with my subject, and conscious of my own inability. May writers better favoured by nature complete, by their master-works,
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what my essays have begun. Under the auspices of philosophy may there be one day extended from one extremity of the world to the other, that chain of union and benevolence which ought to connect all civilized people! May they never more carry among savage nations the example of vice and oppression! I do not flatter myself that, at the period of that happy revolution, my name will be still in remembrance. This feeble work, which will have but the merit of having brought forth others better than itself, will, doubtless be forgotten. But I shall, at least, be able to say, that I have contributed, as much as was in my power, to the happiness of my fellow-creatures, and pointed out the way, though at a distance, for the bettering of their condition. This agreeable thought will stand me in the stead of glory. It will be the delight of my old age, and the consolation of my latest moments.



THE END.

